OXFORD SYMPOSIUM 1983

FOOD IN MOTION
The Migration of Foodstuffs and Cookery Techniques

Proceedings

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A shorter second
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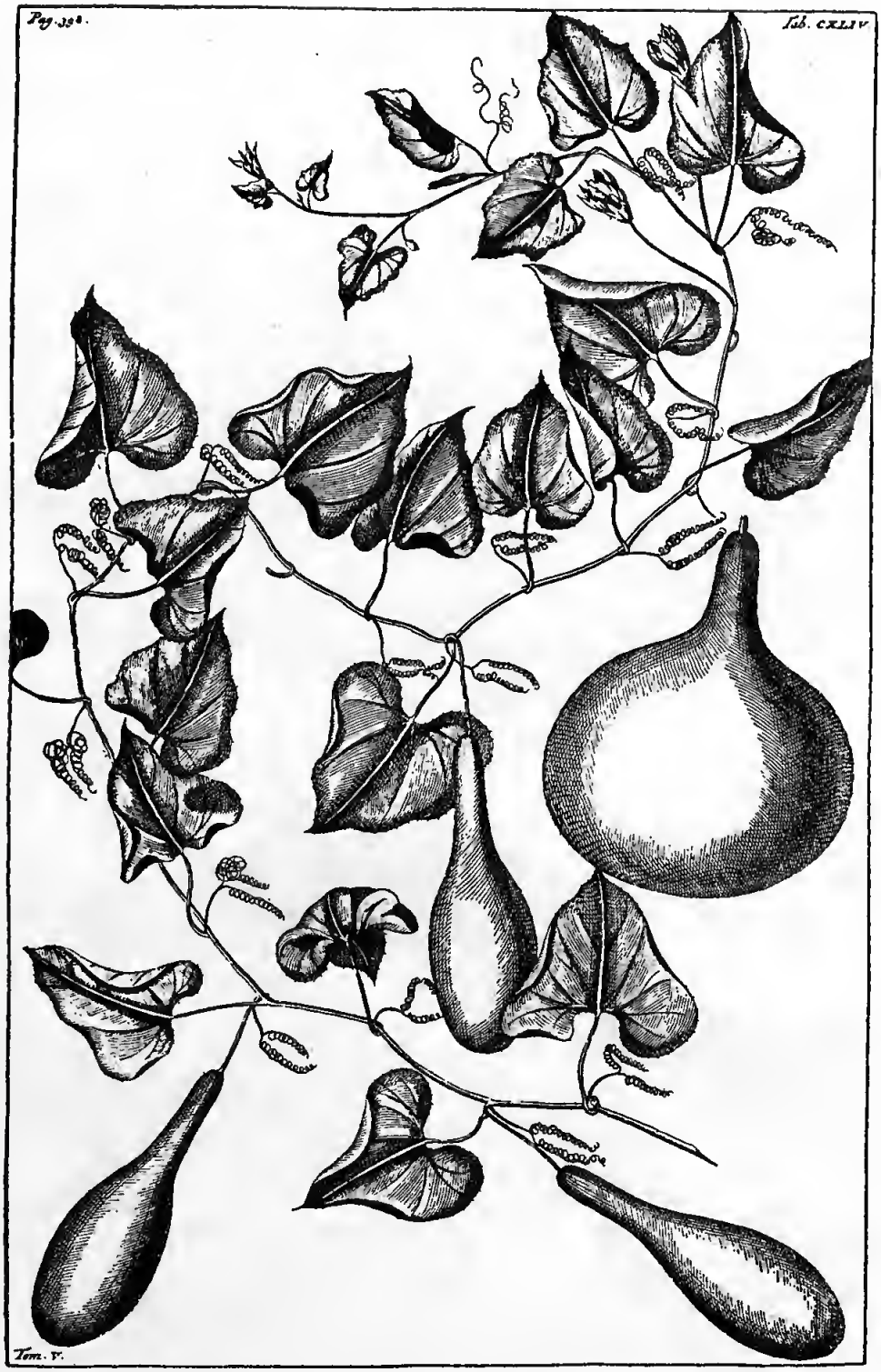

The common gourd, Lagenaria vulgaris, *was present in both hemispheres long before the period of European expansion. It probably reached America from Africa by floating; an instance of what could be called 'unassisted migration'. The illustration is from Rumphius,* Herbarium Amboinense, *vol 5 (1747).*

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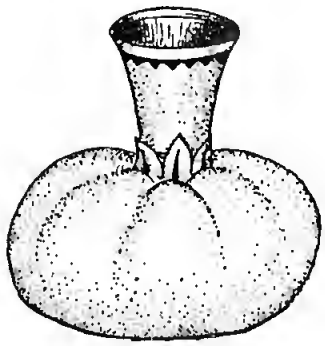

COVER ILLUSTRATIONS. These are very slightly adapted from drawings reproduced in *Foods America Gave the World* by A Hyatt Verrill (L C Page & Co, Boston 1937), a book of great interest in the context of the 1983 Symposium. The picture on the back of the cover shows a pre-Incan chocolate cup decorated with a man holding cacao pods. Those on the front are all of pre-Incan jars in the form of fruits and vegetables which will be easily recognized as a group of the most important 'foods America gave the world'.

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SUGAR: THE MIGRATIONS OF A PLANT PRODUCT DURING 2000 YEARS

C. Anne Wilson

Few foodstuffs have migrated on such a scale as sugar. The crop itself was gradually carried round the world through the tropical and semi-tropical zones, from India to Arabia, Babylonia and the Near East; in the middle ages it migrated across the Arab-dominated Mediterranean lands; and thence onwards to Madeira, the Canaries and the New World. On its eastward journey from India, sugar-cane had reached Ceylon by the sixth century AD, and was already growing extensively on the Philippines when Magellan landed there in 1521. Today it is cultivated as far north as Louisiana in the United States, and as far south as New South Wales in Australia.[1]

THE ANCIENT WORLD

But sugar has also migrated in terms of usage, for it was known only as a medicine for several hundred years before it entered into ordinary diet; and for several hundred more it had a double usage as both medicine and foodstuff. It first came to the notice of Europeans about 325 BC, when Alexander the Great's expedition finally reached western India. Nearchos, Alexander's admiral, wrote about Indian sugar-cane, and his words were reported by Strabo. 'He states also concerning the reeds that they produce honey, although there are no bees.'[2]

Pliny in the first century AD gave more definite information. He said that Arabia produced saccharon - the Greek word meaning 'sweet' that had been adopted as the term for sugar - but that the saccharon of India was more highly praised. It was a kind of honey collected from reeds, and when solidified it was brittle to the teeth; it came in lumps, the largest being the size of a hazel-nut; and it was used only in medicine.[3] From Dioscorides we learn that sugar was good for the stomach and bowels, and for the kidneys and bladder; and that it was to be dissolved in water and taken in the form of a drink. It also cleared dark spots from the eyes.[4]

If the Greeks and Romans still accepted sugar solely as a medical drug, we can safely assume that this was its only usage in India and Arabia too. Keen gourmets among the wealthy Romans of the imperial period ate such delicacies as the oysters carried to Rome from Britain, and sturgeon from the Black Sea. They would have been happy to pay a high price for the sugar of distant India, had they recognised it as either a foodstuff or a condiment. But in the event, the sugar must have come west in very small amounts, along with the spices that were traded from India and further east, and have been of interest only to physicians and their patients. There is no mention of it in Apicius' recipe-book.

THE PERSIAN AND ARAB WORLDS

During the sixth century AD sugar migrated further, and the cane was grown within the Persian empire, in the Tigris and Euphrates delta, and in parts of Baluchistan. It was planted as a medicinal herb in the medical botanic garden developed by the Emperor Kusro I (531-578) around his famous hospital at Jundi Shapur.[5] The transition of sugar from medicine to foodstuff had probably already begun, or began soon afterwards; it is likely that it predated the Arab conquest of Persia in 637 AD.

But sugar-cane is costly to grow, requiring a fertile soil, plus a heavy

concentration of manure, and good rainfall or irrigation. Its harvesting is labour-intensive; and whereas a coarse, brown sugar can be produced from a single boiling of the juice, refined white sugar requires three or more boilings. The earliest consumers of refined sugar would therefore have been the great landowners, senior officials, the Emperor himself and his entourage. Unfortunately, no recipes from this period have yet come to light.

After 637, the Arabs moved rapidly westwards to conquer Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, North Africa, Spain, and, lastly, Crete and Malta. They introduced sugar-cane into all those new lands, and extended the areas of cultivation within the old Persian empire. The degree to which sugar had entered into the diet of the ruling members of the Arab aristocracy is shown in the accounts of the Calif Azīz (976-996), which record an annual purchase of 700 qintār of sugar (representing perhaps nearly 70,000 lb.) as against only 5 qintār of honey (perhaps nearly 500 lb.).[6] The figure for honey may be misleading, since a good deal more would probably have been produced on the Calif's own estates.

At the Abassid court, from the late ninth century onwards, food preparation became something of an art form; and the earliest records we have of Arab cuisine are the poems written by courtiers in praise of their favourite dishes, wherein the visible beauty of the confections is celebrated no less than their flavour. They included:

> ... lozenge soaked in butter
> Buried deep in sugar sweet

(in the words of Arberry's translation), and the snowy-white rice dish, 'aruzza', where

> ... sugar sprinkled upon every side
> Flashes and gleams like light personified.[7]

In their medicinal usage of sugar, the Arabs followed in general the lines laid down by Dioscorides. But sugar was chosen to replace honey in some rather special medicines. An example is the recipe for a marvellous remedy in the book known as The Secret of Secrets, a book of advice for the statesman written, supposedly, by Aristotle for Alexander the Great. This remarkable confection, called in Arabic 'the guard', and in the Latin translation 'the inestimable glory', was made up from eight separate medicines, each prepared from herbs, spices, seeds or roots appropriate to preserve the health of the eight different areas of the body, and mixed in each case with a so-called honey. But this honey was actually created by boiling the juices of pomegranates, grapes and apples with sugar, until the mixture reduced to a honey-like consistency. The total medicine combined all eight, and added powdered gold and gemstones; and it thus contained a high proportion of sugar. It was to be taken daily to prevent a great number of diseases, to drive away excesses of phlegm, yellow bile and black bile (three of the four humours), and to hold back the onset of old age.[8] Hence its Arabic name of 'the guard'. Here we can see sugar in the role of preventive medicine rather than cure; and from that view it was only a step to regarding sugar as a positively health-producing ingredient in the daily diet.

MIGRATION TO NORTH-WEST EUROPE: MEDIAEVAL BRITAIN

The next migration of sugar was to the countries of western Europe. The Crusaders returned from the eastern Mediterranean lands with a taste for it; and the Europeans had further experience of sugar usage among the Arabs through increased contacts with Moorish Spain after the Christians won back Toledo in 1085, and with Sicily after it came under Norman rule. Sugar-cane could not be grown in northern Europe, but raw sugar became an object of trade, and was purchased by the well-to-do along with oriental spices.

SUGAR IN COOKERY

Its Saracen origin was recognised in the manner of its usage. Many of the recipes where it is called for in mediaeval English cookery books can be paralleled reasonably closely in the Baghdad Cookery Book of 1226. Some examples are:

1. Recipes where sugar was added to meat dishes apparently in the role of a spice, little more than an ounce at a time: sprinkled over cooked, spiced meat dishes in the Arab examples; mixed into a wine, egg and sage sauce for chickens, or added with raisins and spices to a stew of chickens or rabbits that was thickened with flour of rice (another ingredient of Arab origin) in English recipes.[9]
2. Recipes for sweet-sour sauces, where a larger quantity of sugar was called for, and was counterbalanced by vinegar. In the Arab example, the sauce is for kebabs of meat, but in English recipes it may be the vehicle for either meat or fish; and since it arrived via French cuisine, it is called by the French term 'egerdouce'.[10]
3. The thick pottages of pulped chicken, ground almonds (or rice and almond milk) and a good deal of sugar, which became the French and English blancmange and mawmeny. The closest parallel in the Baghdad Cookery Book is made with ground pistachios instead of almonds, and is therefore green.[11]
4. The sugar and ground almond sweet pastes of Saracen confectionery, which in the west developed into marzipan. In these the sugar contributed to the consistency as well as the sweetness of the paste. In western Europe, the marzipan was used especially in the construction of 'subtleties', figures and forms modelled from the paste and from jelly that were arranged in small tableaux and brought before the diners at the end of each course of a great feast. A recipe for moulding figures from a marzipan-type paste appears also in the Baghdad Cookery Book.[12]
5. The sweet dishes of which the name indicated an origin in Saracen lands, such as 'Vyande Cypre' (a variant of the Arab rice and sugar dish, 'aruzza'), and 'Sauce Saracen' (ground almonds, sugar and red wine).[13]

PRESERVING WITH SUGAR: MIGRATION OF A TECHNIQUE

The Arabs had learnt the value of sugar as a conserving agent long before it reached mediaeval western Europe. The preservative properties of honey had been exploited in the days of the Greco-Roman empire, and Apicius' recipe book explained how to conserve fresh figs, apples, plums, pears and cherries in honey.[14] The Arabs took over the idea and developed it further, employing sugar either to replace honey, or to improve its performance. Thus they found sugar valuable for the process of candying

fruits dry, and also for making syrups to preserve them wet. Other sugar syrups were flavoured with the juices of herbs, flowers and fruits. Advice on how to prepare preserved fruits and syrups of many kinds appeared in the medical handbooks, such as that of Abulcasis;[15] thus making it plain that these products had a role in medicine. The healing virtues contained in the fruits, herbs, flowers and seeds, were both conserved and enhanced by the sugar.

But recipes for fruit-flavoured sugar syrups are also present in the unpublished thirteeenth-century or earlier Arab cookery-book, Kitāb al-Wuṣla, described by Rodinson.[16] And in the Baghdad Cookery Book a recipe is given for preserving dates stuffed with almonds by first boiling them in honey and then, when they had cooled, sprinkling them with finely-ground scented sugar, and storing them in jars between layers of such sugar.[17] Thus sugar-preserved fruits and sugar syrups had a double role, as medicines and also as table delicacies.

The double aspect of these confections migrated with them to the west. Thus sugar-coated aniseeds and caraway seeds were taken as an aid to digestion at the end of a feast in mediaeval England. But they were also scattered as decoration over thick sweet pottages served during the feast. A notable example of the sugar and fruit preserve that was both a medicine and a foodstuff is the sweetened quince paste which in English cookery books continued for some time to carry the French name of 'char de quynce'. Its Arab counterpart appears to be the 'quince cooked with sugar' that is listed along with the sugar and fruit syrups in Rodinson's summary of the Kitāb al-Wuṣla.[18] In some of the English recipes, the quinces were boiled with warden pears, heavily spiced with pepper and other oriental spices, and sweetened with honey, which in England was both much cheaper and much more easy to obtain than sugar. The result was a stiff paste that was stored dry in boxes. Its culinary use was as an ingredient in rich pottages, such as the enriched form of mawmeny. But it, too, was something to be consumed at the end of a meal as an aid to digestion.[19] Recipes for making it therefore appeared in medical recipe books. One such book of the fifteenth century carries three linked recipes for 'chardecoynes that is good for the stomach'. The first is the version that included warden pears and spices, and was sweetened with honey; the second is similar, but contains two parts of honey to three parts of sugar. But the third consists simply of sugar and quinces (equal weights of each), and as the text says, 'this shall be whiter than the other inasmuch as the sugar is white'. Not surprisingly, it is the third kind that is claimed to be best of all.[20] Sweetmeats such as this one must often have been eaten more for pleasure than for medication, though if one could both enjoy them and feel they were doing one good, that must have been an added attraction.

MEDICINAL SUGAR

More specific medicinal use of sugar was made in the case of those suffering from cold diseases of many kinds: coughs, colds, lung complaints, cold agues. For these, sugar syrups were administered, or sugar candy, or the little sugar-sticks called 'penidia'. Suagr was hot in the first degree, so it was qualified to counteract a cold disease.

Rose and violet sugars were popular among those who could afford such costly medicines - to judge by the enormous quantities consumed by the English royal household in 1287: 300 lb. of violet sugar, and 1,900 lb. of rose sugar.[21] And roses and violets, being cool in the first degree, could make sugar more temperate, and thus increase the range of diseases for which it could be prescribed. The surgeon Lanfrank has rose sugar as

an ingredient in one medicine to purge melancholy, or black bile (cold and dry); in another to purge choler, or yellow bile (hot and dry).[22]

Sugar itself gained the reputation of being less heating than honey, and thus valuable where the most delicate treatment was required. The recipe for a marvellous drink to heal all new wounds within nine days appears in one Middle English medical handbook. It includes many herbs and spices, combined with honey and wine to produce the kind of spiced drink then known as claret. 'Nevertheless,' says the recipe, 'yet be the leech well advised that he give not this claret to any that be wounded in the head, for in such wounds wine and honey be suspect, but in the stead of wine, put water of barley, and in the stead of honey, 3 lb. of sugar; and that is good therefor.' The writer was perhaps influenced by Lanfrank's special drink for wounds of the head and sinews, made from barleywater with sugar, damask prunes and sugar of roses.[23] By Elizabethan times, the prevailing view among English physicians was that, while sugar was hot and moist in the first degree, honey was hot and dry in the second.[24]

The sweetness of sugar also made a positive contribution to medical remedies. As early as the 1250s, Roger Bacon was urging the use of 'zuccarum et mel' (sugar and honey) to temper abominable medicines and make them acceptable to the stomach.[25] Another Middle English recipe for a herbal drink for a wounded man called for several herbs boiled in ale or wine, adding 'and if the man may not drink for bitterness, do sugar to the drink.'[26]

SUGAR IN BRITAIN: THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The next migration of sugar was two-fold. In the first place, the crop was carried furher and further west as settlers followed the early explorers across the Atlantic. As the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French and English established their colonies in the New World, so they introduced sugar-cane where soil and climate were hospitable to it. The Portuguese were growing sugar in São Thomé at the end of the fifteenth century, and in Brazil about 1520. By that time, the Spanish had planted sugar in the Canaries and in Hispaniola (now Haiti/Dominican Republic). The English and French set up their sugar colonies in the West Indies rather more than a century later.

As a result, increasing quantities of raw sugar were shipped back to northern Europe, and the price of this luxury article became somewhat lower. Sugar then began another migration: a migration in social terms. In Britain consumption was no longer confined to the wealthiest families, and it entered into the diet of the small gentry, of successful yeomen farmers and their families, and of townspeople of the middling sort.

SUGAR AS SWEETENER

Elizabethan cookery-books, and those of the first half of the seventeenth century, show that the new users readily added sugar to any dishes containing sharp or bitter ingredients, to boiled leg of mutton with lemons, for instance, and to spinach fritters.[27] Sugar was scattered over pies, both sweet and savoury, and also over such unlikely dishes as stewed trout cooked with wine, herbs and mace; balls of minced mutton, beef or lamb made with suet and flavoured with herbs; and stuffed leg of lamb.[28] Less surprisingly, it was added to rosewater and butter sauces, mixed into fancy breads, cakes and puddings, and eaten with puff pastry.

From mediaeval times the English had enjoyed sweet wines imported from the eastern Mediterranean. Now other wines no longer seemed sweet enough

for their palates, and they took to sugaring them too. In their defence, it must be said that much of the wine that came their way was a good deal rougher than any we drink today.

SUGAR AS PRESERVATIVE

The use of sugar as a preservative increased enormously. The lady of the house herself, with help from her maids, candied and conserved the produce of her garden, or market fruits in season. The range of sugar-preserved fruits, flowers and seeds was extended, and many new recipes came from Italy and France, where the sugar-working art had developed more rapidly. The recipes were gathered into handbooks with titles like Delightes for Ladies, or The Queen's Closet Opened, and published for the instruction of the domestic confectioner.

The sugar-preserved fruits were now moving away from the medicinal area. They were served at the final dessert course of a festive meal, which became known as the banquet.[29] But the placing of this separate course of sugary delicacies at the end of the meal reflected the long tradition, going back to Dioscorides, that sugar was good for the stomach, and would therefore act as an aid to digestion.

THE SOCIAL MIGRATION OF SUGAR CONTINUED

All through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the amount of sugar reaching Britain increased steadily, and its migration in social terms continued. Tea-drinking was introduced into England during the 1650s; and in the following decade, under the influence of Catharine of Braganza, the Portuguese wife of Charles II, tea-drinking became a fashionable pastime at the court. The news spread, so that people outside court circles also became eager to try the new beverage. The English found that tea lacked sweetness, so they learned to add sugar to it, just as they had formerly learned to add it to wine. As tea-drinking slowly progressed down the social scale, from the court to the lesser gentry, and from mistresses to their maids (since it was from the start more a feminine than a masculine addiction), the practice of sugaring tea followed the same progression. Later in the eighteenth century, maids received part of their wages in the form of an allowance of tea and sugar. Tea-drinking eventually reached even the lowliest households (especially in the south of England; in northern England and Scotland, ale and milk remained alternatives for longer). But poor people could only afford teas that were heavily adulterated with hawthorn, sloe or other native leaves, and they found the brew so bitter that they were obliged to buy sugar, a small amount at a time, to make their tea drinkable at all.[30]

In the meantime, people of the middling sort were making greater use of sugar in cakes and puddings, and in jams and marmalades. The eighteenth century saw the beginning of a stricter division between sweet and savoury cooked dishes, but more sugar was now used in the former. Cakes, for instance, had been sweetened with some sugar in the days when they were raised with yeast. But once it had become usual to mix them with eggs, the proportion of sugar to flour and butter was increased. Sugar reduced the need for heavy spicing in many areas of cookery, since it made bland foods more appetising and bitter foods more palatable.

These were very much the basic patterns of sugar usage that migrated to North America and later to Australia. The emigrants who crossed the ocean and settled in the newly-colonised lands took their food customs with them, and aimed to reproduce them insofar as suitable ingredients or

substitute ingredients were available. The migration of European, and especially English, recipes containing sugar can be traced in the early cookery-books that were available to the first generations of settlers.

MEDICINAL SUGAR

The areas where sugar was valued medicinally gradually shrank. In Elizabethan England, the physicians still advised the melancholy man (with his excess of black bile) to add sugar to acid sauces, to wine and to the whey and mare's milk that they prescribed in such cases.[31] But it was the use of 'pennet' (the old 'penidia' or sugar sticks), and of sugar candy mixed with powdered liquorice, aniseeds or coriander seeds, and of various sweetened syrups, as cough and cold cures which was to survive into modern times,[32] along with the custom of coating pills with sugar to conceal their internal bitterness.

The view that sugar is positively harmful to health in the western world because it encourages obesity, and thus leads to the so-called diseases of civilisation, is a very recent one. It is the result of the modern over-consumption of sugar. In 1850, the average amount consumed yearly in the U.K. was still only 20 lb. for each person. Today the average amount is over 100 lb. per person.[33]

BYPRODUCTS OF SUGAR AND THEIR MIGRATION

Sugar from the New World was sent back to Europe in ever-increasing quantities. This meant that its byproduct, molasses, also migrated back to the old world, in more than one form. For a long time the sugar-cane sap was usually boiled only once in its place of origin, so what arrived at European ports was a coarse, brown, sticky sugar, containing much molasses and some impurities. Sugar had been arriving in this state, from the Mediterranean islands and North Africa, since it was first traded into northern Europe; and when whiter sugar was required, the raw sugar had to be reboiled and worked through a process whereby water was filtered through clay to displace the molasses. This operation was being carried out at commercial refineries in Venice by about the middle of the fifteenth century, at Antwerp some fifty years later, and by 1544 in London. Thereafter several more sugar-houses, as they were called, were established in various English ports, and in a few Scottish ones.[34]

The reboiling of the sugar yielded substantial amounts of molasses. At first this could be absorbed by the apothecaries, who purchased it to manufacture their medicated treacle, formerly made up on a honey base. But the supply soon outstripped the apothecaries' demands, so the molasses was sold off to the general public. In Britain it became known as common treacle, and because it was cheaper than sugar, it was bought by poorer people as a sweetener. From the later eighteenth century it migrated especially to northern and upland Britain, where fuel was more readily available than in the south; and the treacle could be added to oatmeal porridge, or baked in gingerbread, parkin, or biscuits.

The other, and perhaps more striking, byproduct of sugar-refining which migrated from the New World to the Old, was rum. It may have been the Dutch who first taught the sugar-growers of the Caribbean islands how to distil molasses and produce the 'hot, hellish and terrible liquor' that became known as rum. Its burning quality was somewhat tempered by the long sea-voyage back to Europe, and the trade in rum became an important adjunct to the sugar trade. Not only was rum itself shipped back to Europe, and especially to Britain, but so also were additional supplies of molasses, to

be distilled at the sugar-houses along with the molasses which they were already producing for themselves, as a result of their sugar-refining. The British version of rum was distilled at English and Scottish sugar-houses for several decades, but output was curbed by customs duties, first imposed in 1736 and constantly increased until 1783.

Molasses was also traded to New England, to be distilled there; and rum was a popular drink among the colonists during the eighteenth century. It also played a part in the slave trade, for the traders took rum to West Africa and bartered it for slaves; took the slaves to the West Indies; and finally returned to New England with a fresh supply of West Indian molasses to be distilled into rum for the next trip.

MIGRATION OF SOURCE

One last migration of sugar remains to be mentioned, and that is the migration of the source of supply. Sugars from plants other than the sugar-cane have been, and are, in use in various parts of the world. When the first colonists reached New England, for instance, they found the Indians already exploiting maple tree sap and its sugar. Poor settlers continued to use maple sugar, but apparently regarded it only as a substitute sugar. White cane sugar remained the ideal; and the whitest maple sugar, from the earliest rising of the sap, was the most sought after, because it most resembled cane sugar. During the nineteenth century, cane sugar became cheap and plentiful, and maple sugar then acquired the role of a secondary, speciality sugar, produced mainly for home consumption; and more recently, most of the maple sap has been consumed in the form of syrup.[35]

Sugars are also produced from the saps of several different palms in India and in southeast Asia. Those sugars are crystallized out for local use or, as in the case of the wild date palm of India, the sap itself is fermented and distilled for arrack.[36] Such local sugars have not migrated very far, nor have they had much effect on the demand for sugar elsewhere in the world.

But a more recently-developed sugar-plant has succeeded, where other sugar-plants have failed, in causing a large-scale migration to a new source of sugar supply. Although white beet had been known since ancient times, little attempt seems to have been made to exploit the sugar-bearing properties of the root until late in the eighteenth century, when Franz Carl Achard first produced beet sugar on a commercial scale in Prussia. Thereafter most European countries adopted the crop and prepared sugar from it, for sugar-beet, unlike sugar-cane, can be grown in the temperate zone. Only in Britain was sugar-beet virtually ignored until the time of the 1914-18 war, when the government realised the mistake that had been made in allowing the country to rely totally upon imported sugar. But elsewhere beet-growing had expanded to such a degree that by the end of the nineteenth century more beet sugar than cane sugar was being produced world-wide. The balance has swung back slightly in favour of cane sugar during this century.

Beet sugar is made by shredding the roots of the beet and heating them in running water, and then evaporating the liquid. Unlike other sugars that have been mentioned - maple, and the palm sugars - the final product from beet is indistinguishable from fully refined cane sugar. Few other foodstuffs can equal the claim of sugar to have migrated not only to every part of the world, but also from one widely-grown and prolific plant-source to another which yields it on a similarly vast scale.

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GRAIN FOODS OF THE EARLY TURKS

Charles Perry

The steppes of Mongolia and Central Asia are too cold and dry for agriculture. The Turks who invaded the Near East from the steppes in the 10th century were herdsmen, not farmers, and it is easy to imagine that they lived exclusively off their flocks, eating milk and meat products supplemented only with such fruits and vegetables as they gathered in their wanderings. However, the Turks of the 10th century certainly did know of agriculture, though perhaps only a few practised it. When Mahmud of Kashgar compiled his dictionary of Turkish dialects in 1073, he recorded native Turkish words for 'to sow', 'the plow', 'wheat', 'barley' and 'millet'.

Grain-based foods already played a considerable part in Turkish cookery. Altogether 14 words for grain foods which are still used in one or another Turkish language were known to Mahmud (an even greater number of terms has died out: see Appendix I). Another eight terms are attested by the end of the 14th century or can be assumed to be of comparable antiquity. These dishes range from simple groats and toasted grain to noodles, breads and pastries, one of which is demonstrably the ancestor of that layered pastry Westerners know as filo or strudel dough. Turkish grain cookery has had wide influence in Asia, the Near East and the Balkans as the presence of these words in non-Turkish languages can attest.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Around 2000 years ago Chinese historians begin to mention the nomadic peoples living to the north and west of China whose predatory raids were only to be brought under control by the building of the Great Wall. These nomads spoke two distinct languages, Turkish and Mongolian, but lived in close contact and shared not only a common culture but a large common vocabulary relating to steppe life: political titles, technical terms of nomad economy and warfare and so forth. Though far outside the realm of civilization, these nomads came to experience the cultural influence of both China and Iran via trade and misionary activity. The Turks in particular, whose population center was somewhat to the west of that of the Mongols, encountered Iranian influence as they wandered in Central Asia and absorbed or annihilated the Iranian nomads who had formerly dominated the western steppes.

The westernmost Turks enter European history in various Hun, Avar and Bulgar kingdoms. The Turks remaining in Asia were involved in large, loosely organized empires (Kök Türk and Uigur) extending from the Aral Sea to Manchuria in the 6th and 7th centuries. These empires were confined to the steppes, but contact with Iran and China accelerated and various alphabets were used to reduce Turkish to writing. Quite likely it was at this time that the Turks became familiar with grain.

During the 9th and 10th centuries Turkish mercenaries became the backbone of most Near Eastern armies; in the 10th and 11th centuries Turks began establishing their own kingdoms in the Near East, most notably the Seljuks in Iran, the Fertile Crescent and Anatolia. Turkish dominion in the Islamic lands was ensured by the explosive conquests of Genghiz Khan and his descendants in the 13th century, because great numbers of Turks fought in the Mongol hordes. The Mongol Empire soon broke up into various successor states, of which the Golden Horde (Central Asia and southern

Russia), the Jagatai Horde (Transoxiana and Chinese Turkestan) and the Ilkhan Kingdom became culturally and linguistically Turkish as the Mongol ruling class intermarried with its Turkish troops and with the Turks previously settled in the conquered territories.

THE TURKISH REGIONS

Apart from the remote Yakuts of northeastern Siberia and the Chuvash of the upper Volga, whose lsnguage is the only living representative of the Hun or Bulgar group, the present-day Turks can be divided into three main groups: Northeast (NE), Central Asian (CA) and Southwest (SW).

The Northeast group is located to the north of westernmost Mongolia, in the Altai and Sayan mountain groups and the steppes to the north of them. This group has never become Moslem and has not participated in the cultural developments of the other Turkish lands; the presence of a food nsme here is strong evidence of its antiquity. These people are herdsmen, hunters and gatherers, settled hunters and farmers. From east to west they are the Tuva (under strong Mongol influence), the Abakan, the Shor and the Altai.

The Central Asian group can be subdivided into four smaller groups. In the southeast, roughly the territory of the Jagatai Horde, are the Uzbeks of Transoxiana and the closely-related Uighurs of Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang Province). Related to the Uighurs are another Turkish nation in China, the small Salar group of Gansu. The Uzbeks and Uighurs are farmers and devout Moslems; the Uzbeks are under considerable Iranian influence. In the center, the steppes of Central Asia from the Caspian Sea to the borders of China, a number of related dialects are spoken which have more or less arbitrarily been categorized as the Kazakh, Kirgiz and Karakalpak languages. Apart from the Karakalpaks in the Oxus delta, these people are mostly nomads and only superficially Islamized. The northwest subdivision comprises the Tatars and the Bashkirs, whose history is connected with the Golden Horde and the Khanate of Kazan to which Russia long paid tribute. These nations are on the upper Volga, about 500 miles east of Moscow. Also stemming from the Golden Horde are smaller groups in the Crimea and northern Caucasus such as the Ksrachai and Balksr. Among this last group is the interesting Qaraim language, spoken by a Jewish sect in the Crimea and in scattered places in Poland and Lithuania.

The Southwest group consists of the Osmanlis (the Turks of Turkey), the Azerbaijanis in the southeast Caucssus and northwestern Iran, the Turkmen between the Caspian and the Aral Sea, and scattered groups in Iran. This group is associated with the Seljuk, Ilkhan and Ottoman Empires. The Osmanlis and Azerbaijanis are mostly farmers, the others nomads.

The distinction betwen these groups in terms of cookery is clear. The northeast group, isolated and impoverished, knows only eight of the 23 terms under discussion. (Among them, however, are terms for 'bread' and 'noodles'.) The Southwest group preserves a larger number of words, but this group was first exposed to considerable Persian influence and then subsequently developed s cosmopolitan cuisine of its own which now predominates in the eastern Mediterranesn, the Ottoman school of cookery. These factors probably explain the absence of some words. The Central Asian group has preserved nearly all the anciently-recorded words which still survive (the exceptions are qavut and the vexed case of lavash). All the terms in use in the CA group are also found in languages of the NE or SW groups. Only in the case of chälpäk snd salma is it likely that we sre dealing with a Central Asian development which has been borrowed by a Southwest language.

THE DISHES

The old sources are abbreviated as follows: TT, Turfan texts (9th-10th centuries); DL, Dewan Lughat al-Turk, Mahmud of Kashgar (1073); KI, Kitab al-Idrak li-Lisan al-Atrak, Abu Hayyan al-Gharnati (1312); MA, Muqaddimat al-Adab (13th or 14th century); TZ, Al-Tuhfah al-Zakiyyah fi Lughat al-Turkiyyah (14th century); BM, Bulghat al-Mushtaq fi Lughat al-Turk wal-Qifjaq, Jamal al-Din Abu Muhammad al-Turki (14th century). TT and DL were written in Xinjiang (Chinese Turkestan), though DL records many words from other dialects. The other works represent CA and SW dialects spoken by Mamluk soldiers and other Turks living in Egypt and Syria.

BASIC PREPARATIONS

1. talqan: 'toasted grain'. This is evidently the original meaning (from the root talqa-, 'to toast in the fire'), but the sense is preserved among Turkish languages only in central CA. Fairly early talqan came to mean toasted or fried flour (as in Turkmen and Uighur) then flour or meal as such and/or a porridge made of it. DL: 'porridge of toasted grain (sawiq)'.

   This word entered Mongolian as one of the principal words for 'flour'. In modern Khalkha Mongolian, talkh means 'bread'. The Tungus of Siberia have talqan in the senses of 'grain, flour, baked bread'. The Tuva (NE) also have it as 'flour, dough, fried bread of barley or wheat', probably under Mongol influence. Pashto (Afghanistan) preserves the sense of fried grain, and Urdu (India) the sense of an edible paste made of pounded toasted grain. The most extraordinary development is among the Tajiks, Persian speakers who live closely mingled with the Uzbeks. In their language the word has taken the sense of a fried flour made from dried fruits.

2. qavurmach: 'grain fried in butter'. This word has survived in scattered locations, with some shifting of meaning ('rice porridge with carrots and raisins' as well as the original sense in Uighur, 'fried wheat bread' in Turkmen). In Osmanli it applies to fried maize, lentils etc. In the northern Caucasus it is said to mean popcorn. DL: qavurmach, 'dish of wheat fried in butter'; qoghurmach, 'fried wheat'. KI: 'fried grain'.

3. yarma: 'crushed grain, groats'. As in English (grits, meal), the word often means the boiled dish as well as the raw product. This is the most widely-represented word, found in all the language groups and recorded as early as the 9th-10th century. The only notable shift of meaning is specialization as to one particular grain: barley in northern Altai, millet in Uzbek, rice and millet in Kazakh. TT: arpa...yarmasï, 'barley groats'. DL: yarmash, 'groats'. MA, TZ: yarma, 'groats'.

   Literary Mongolian jarma, Khalkha zaram. Also borrowed in Bulgarian, Serbocroatian, and Vogul and Ostyak, two Ob-Ugrian languages of Siberia.

4. qavut: 'toasted grain enriched with fat and sweetened'. This word, well attested in medieval sources, survives only in Osmanli ('parched grain or pulse') and Azerbaijani ('pounded groats, fried wheat or peas prepared with pounded sugar'). DL: 'porridge of parched millet (sawiq al-dukhn) kneaded with butter and sugar'. KI: 'well-known

dish'. TZ: 'pudding'. BM: 'cooked grain'. DL remarks that this was a special dish for women in childbed.

This word has been used in Persian ('porridge; mixed flour and legumes with sweetening, of dry consistency') and Arabic. Two 13th century Arabic cookbooks, Al-Wuṣlah ila al-Ḥabib and Kitab Waṣf al-At'imah al-Mu'tadah, each give several recipes for qavut, ranging in complexity from fried rice ground and mixed with butter and honey to porridges of several mixed grains with both honey and sugar, butter and nut oils, mixed nuts and saffron.

BOILED GRAIN

A slippery category - the meaning can shift from porridge to whole grain in soup to noodles.

5. butqa: 'boiled grain dish'. The Mongol form of the word (budaghan) and the existence of the Chuvash word pata, 'porridge', suggest that the original word was something like butaqa. This word may even antedate the use of grain, if it is related to Yakut butugas, 'drink of milk and curds; thickened soup'. Among the NE group languages, this word means meal boiled with milk; in the SE and central CA languages it is a rice porridge, and in the northwestern (Volga) CA languages it is a porridge or purée. TZ: butqa, 'rice cooked with milk'.

   The original meaning of budaghan in Mongolian is said to have been 'thickened soup'; modern Khalkha Mongolian knows the meanings 'groats, millet groats, grain, porridge'. The Tuva, although Turks (NW group), have adopted the Mongol form of the word, in this sense. The Ordos Mongols of China use budaa to mean 'noodles'. The book MA records words in western Mongolian of the 14th century as well as Turkish, and western Mongols were apparently using the expression echkeksen budaan, 'sliced budaan', to mean 'noodles'. The Buriat Mongols use budaa for 'groats', budaan for 'barley'.

6. köchä: 'boiled grain dish'. This word is found in northern Altai (NE) as 'thickened soup' and 'barley'. In Salar (Gansu, China), it means 'whole wheat porridge'. In Kazakh it is grain (sometimes fried), pounded and then boiled in soup or milk. In Kirgiz it is millet or wheat groats (in the Talas dialect, 'noodles'). TZ: 'groats'.

   The Persian-speaking Tajiks of Central Asia have borrowed this word as the name of a dish of groats boiled with sorghum flour, flavored with yoghurt.

7. ügrä: 'boiled grain soup'. In northern Altai, 'porridge of groats and milk'; in Khakas, 'barley soup'. In Central Asia it is 'groat soup' in the northwest, 'noodles cut small' in the southeast. This word may be connected with the Yakut üörä, 'soup, purée of roots'. DL: 'noodles, like tutmach but softer. qıyma ügrä:noodles cut like birds' tongues'. MA: 'noodles cut thin'.

8. bulghamach: 'thick porridge'. Only found in Osmanli and Azerbaijani: 'porridge of bulghur, legumes and cheese; sweet porridge or pudding'. DL: 'pudding without sweetening or butter'. KI, BM: 'pudding'. Adopted by Serbocroatian and Bulgarian in the sense of 'porridge' and also as 'tasteless, savorless dish; gum'.

9. bulamɨq: 'thin porridge'. Found in all subdivisions of the Central Asian group as 'thin porridge' or 'flour soup'. In Salar, 'thick porridge of flour and butter'. MA: bulamaq, 'porridge'.
Borrowed by Mari, a Finnish language of the upper Volga: pulamak, 'purée'. Also by the Kalmuks, Mongols in the western Caspian region: bulmg, 'flour mixed with salt and butter, national dish of the Kalmuks'.

NOODLES

10. tutmach: 'noodles'. Found at the extreme ends of Turkish territory, in the Northeast and the Southwest. In Central Asia found in the Volga and among the Qaraim, strangely missing in the central and southeastern languages of the Central Asian group. DL, KI, BM, MA: 'noodles'.
This word was in common use in Persian and Arabic during the Middle Ages. The Arabic books Al-Wuṣlah and Kitab Waṣf call for dough 'rolled out as for tutmaj' in recipes where the dough is to be stuffed. A stuffed-paste product requires a sturdier dough than can be tolerated in plain noodles, and we can assume that tutmach was habitually rolled less thin than the noodles the Arabs were familiar with. This word can be found at the present day in Serbocroatian (tutmac), Rumanian (tocmagi) and Armenian (ddmaj).

11. ovmach: 'small soup noodles, pea-shaped dumplings'. Missing in the NE group but widely found elsewhere in CA and SW, including the Salar and Qaraim languages. In Uighur it is 'boiled mixture of vegetables and cornmeal; cornmeal and wheat boiled together', and in Osmanli 'couscous; porridge; rustic dish with thin bread crumbled in it; fresh flour and curdled milk (apparently formed into pellets)'.
Found in Persian as early as the 14th century. In Pashto (Afghanistan), 'porridge with vegetables'.

12. salma: 'small flat soup noodles, round or square'. Basically a dish of the northwestern CA group, a Golden Horde pasta. The Kazakh form is cut square, the Tatar form curled like Italian cavatelli. The Bashkirs cut their halma square or simply pinch off pieces of dough and boil them, like Hungarian csipetke.
The 15th century Arabic cookbook Kitab al-Tibakhah describes salma as 'shaped with the fingers like coins'. The Chuvash have adopted this word for 'small pieces or balls of dough, either put in soup or baked on a hearthstone or fried in a pan'.

BREADS AND CAKES

13. boghɨrsaq: 'rich dough fried in small pieces'. This is found throughout Central Asia, where it is taken with tea and also carried by travelers as a provision for the road. The Osmanli and NE forms may be borrowings. The Tatars make this product coin-shaped, the Bashkirs bun-like, the Uzbeks ball-shaped. The Kazakhs - who as nomads have the greatest need for road food - have the greatest variety, including leavened as well as unleavened versions. They make it round, square, oval and triangular. TZ: bursaq, 'bread; a Tatar word'.
This word is widespread in the Mongolian languages. Khalkha, 'rich dough fried in thick cakes; bread, pastry'. Ordos, 'galette, gateau, pain'. Kalmuk, 'thin bread fried in batter'. The Persian-

speakers of Aghanistan leaven the dough but do not allow it to rise, and roll the lumps of dough on a sieve to impress a pattern of indentations on them. In Siberia, this word has been adopted in Vogul.

14. quymaq: 'battercake, fried cake'. Found in CA and SW. Uighur: 'thin cakes baked in fat with sugar, used only in ceremonial offerings'. In Uzbek, Kazakh and Kirghiz, 'thick fried cake of leavened dough made with eggs'. The Tatar form can be leavened or unleavened, and made with wheat, millet, oats, buckwheat or peas. Osmanli: 'flour, bulghur and spinach kneaded and baked; dish like rice pudding of sweetened buttered flour; cheese omelette'. Azerbaijani: 'sweet flour porridge with butter'. DL: quyma, 'a fried bread; the dough is made thin, of the consistency of pancake batter ('ajin qataif), then it is poured on butter boiling in a pot and made thin in it until done, then it is taken out and sugar is sprinkled on it'. KI: 'pudding fried in fat; also a name for zulabia' (fritters; Indian jilebi). Mongol qoimagh; Khalkha khoimog. Buriat Mongol 'curds and whey'. Urdu qoemaq, 'a sort of bread made of flour, white of eggs and onion, fried in ghi'.

15. chälpäk: 'thin bread or cake fried in butter'. Basically a word of the central and southeastern CA group but also found in Turkmen. The Tatar word has a borrowed look. The Tatars fry this bread in rather deep fat, manipulating it with a pair of sticks as it fries to form ruffles in it. MA: chelbäk tabasɨ (not defined, but the phrase means 'chälpäk pan').

In Tajik, 'leavened pancakes fried in butter, a ritual dish'. Iran (14th century): chalpak, 'thin bread cooked in oil'. Urdu, 'thin chapati in oil'. Kalmuk: tselweg, 'pancake'. The Balochi living at Marv in Turkmenia use the word chiblik, and Russians in central Asia use chibrik.

16. ätmäk, ötmäk: 'bread'. Missing in central and southeastern CA, well represented in NE, SW and the western (Golden Horde) languages of CA. In a number of widely-separated languages the t is replaced by k, perhaps to avoid confusion with the word ätmäk, 'to do': Salar egimekh, ekmekh, e'mekh; Osmanli ekmek; Tatar and Bashkir ikmäk; Khalaj (southern Iran) hikmäk. DL: ätmäk, ötmäk, epmäk (the latter among the Yaghma, Tokshɨ, and some Oghuz and Qipchaq; that is, eastern Xinjiang, north of the Jaxartes and in the westernmost parts of Central Asia), 'bread'. KI: ätmäk, 'bread'. MA: etmäk. TZ: ötmäk.

Borrowed by Kamas Samoyed, ippek; Serbocroatian ekmek. In names of Turkish pastries such as ekmek kadaif it has passed into specialized use in Arabic, Armenian and Balkan languages. The 12th century Persian poet Khaqani uses both atmak and akmak. The Kalmuks have adopted the word ödmg.

17. kömäch: 'ashcake, bread cooked in hot ashes'. CA (including Salar and Qaraim), SW; missing in NE. This familiar class of bread has in a few places evolved in unusual directions. Kirgiz: kömöch, 'flatbread of rich dough, coin-sized, baked in ashes and served with hot milk flavored with butter and sour milk'. Tatar: 'small roll made with wheat, pea or lentil flour; bun, small pie,

white bread; layered bread with poppyseed between the layers'. Bashkir: 'unleavened flatbread; in Argayash dialect, meat soup'. Turkmen: 'thin bread stuffed with cracklings or chopped meat, cooked in ashes'. Osmanli: 'bread cooked in ashes; börek-like bread stuffed with meat and onions, cooked on a hot brick or griddle'. DL: kömäch, 'bread which is buried in hot ashes'.

Known in Persia from the 14th century: 'thin bread baked in ashes; thin unleavened bread of rice flour'. In Al-Wuslah and Kitab Wasf, kumaj is often called for but not described; in modern Syrian Arabic, it is said to be the name of the familiar Syrian 'pocket bread'. Pashto, 'big piece of unleavened bread'.

18. toquch: 'round flatbread'. Found today only in Uighur and Kirgiz. In the latter language it is the general word for bread. DL: 'round flatbread'.

19. chöräk: 'fine bread'. Found only in SW and Kazakh ('a kind of boghırsaq') and Karakalpak ('flatbread'). In Azerbaijani, 'white bread, baked bread, large unsoured flatbread'. In Osmanli, 'bun, cake; loaf, usually sweetened.' DL: chöräk, 'round, flat loaf (qurş)'. KI: 'loaf, crumb'. TZ: shöräk, 'cake, dried bread (ka'k)'. chöräk, 'round flatbread'.

Iraqi Arabic: churak, 'a kind of bread shaped like a pretzel'. Syrian Arabic: shraik, 'Bedouin flatbread'. Egyptian Arabic: shureik, 'leavened bread made with butter, sesame and other aromatics; a semolina cake eaten during Ramadan'. Widely found in the Balkans and the Caucasus as a rich coffeecake or festival bread: Albanian çyrek, Serbocroatian čurek, Greek tsourekia (an Easter bread), Armenian chöreg, Georgian ch'ureki.

20. yubqa: 'thin flatbread, often prepared or served in layers'. Spotty distribution in CA, SW. Qaraim, 'unleavened bread'. Azerbaijani, 'thin rolled unleavened bread'. Tatar, 'thin unleavened bread, buttered and stacked up to 10 or 12 high and cut in wedges for serving'. Kirgiz, 'a dish of layered flat breads boiled in milk'. Uzbek, 'thin breads cooked in a pot with meat and onion stuffing; one sheet of dough is fried on both sides and then covered with a layer of stuffing and another sheet of raw dough; this "sandwich" is turned over, and while the raw sheet is frying another layer of filling and raw dough is placed on top; the yupqa is turned over again and the process is repeated until a cake 10 or 12 layers thick is built up.' Osmanli, 'thin bread cooked on a griddle; a single sheet of filo or strudel dough'. DL: yuvgha, yupqa, 'thin bread'. yuvgha, qatma yuvgha, yarma yuvgha, 'folded (wrinkled?) bread (khubz mughadden)'. MA: yupqa etmäk, 'thin bread'.

Persian yukha, 'thin bread', as early as 14th century. Used in several Balkan languages in the sense of 'noodles'; Albanian jufkë, Rumanian iofca, Serbocroatian jufka (juvka, jupka), Bulgarian yufka. Was there a tradition of cooking yubqa in liquid which has disappeared in Turkey (and everywhere else except Kirgizi-stan)? Or was there a secondary development in the Balkans and perhaps some parts of Turkey where the thin yubqa dough, so much like noodle paste, became a noodle? The existence of the Turkish sweet gülaç, which is made of yufkas (strudel sheets) that have been soaked in milk rather than buttered, suggests that yufka may have had a career

as a boiled product in Turkey.

This bread is clearly the origin of what we know as strudel or filo dough. There is no antecedent of baklava or any other filo pastry in Greece, Rome, Byzantium or any Persian or Arab empire. The idea of stacking up thin breads is found in a few other places (notably Yemen and medieval Spain), but in the eastern Mediterranean the Turks were the only ones with a heritage of stacked bread. The practice of stretching each sheet of dough to make it paper-thin probably originated after the conquest of Constantinople, when the Turks had the leisure to support vast cooking establishments such as the kitchens of the Topkapi Palace.

In Azerbaijan we have what appears to be the 'missing link' between the simple Central Asian product of stacked-up thin breads and the sophisticated baklava of modern Turkey. The Azerbaijanis make the usual Near Eastern baklava, but they also make a strange, crude pastry they call Baku baklava (bakɨ pakhlavasɨ). Instead of 50 or 100 yufkas stretched paper-thin in the usual baklava fashion, this pastry uses 8 sheets of ordinary noodle paste, with a layer of nuts between each.

The simplest way to account for this peculiar product is to see it as the earliest result of the contact between Turkish nomad and Near Eastern peasant: the nomad's dish of stacked breads, which he had developed for cooking on his portable nomad's griddle, adapted to the more luxurious circumstances of the peasant's bread oven. The dish baklava, then, seems to be older than the refined 'filo dough' with which it is made nearly everywhere - everywhere, that is, except in Azerbaijan, and among the Tatars, who have adopted this crude form of baklava, along with the name (päkhläwä), from the Azerbaijanis.

21. qatlama: 'a sort of layered bread or puff paste'. The layers are neither so thin nor so clearly organized as layers in this product as they are in European puff paste. The typical recipe (Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Tatar) involves rolling out noodle paste, brushing it with melted butter and then rolling it up like a jelly roll. This roll is sliced crosswise into discs which are flattened out with a rolling pin or by hand and then fried. The Kazakh and Tatar forms may include some sort of filling with the butter: poppyseed, hempseed, walnuts, cheese (among the Tatars) or dried fruit (among the Kazakhs). Qaraim (Poland and Lithuania): 'fried flatbread, cheesecake with layered pastry'. Kirgiz, 'layered dough, rich pastry served in bouillon'. Azerbaijani, 'layered börek made with leavened dough'. Karakalpak, 'layered (dough, pie)'. Osmanli, 'a kind of buttered thin bread fried on a griddle; cornbread'. DL: qatma yuvgha, 'folded (wrinkled?) bread'.

Pashto: qatlama, 'layered fried flat breads'. Chuvash: khutlami, 'layered flatbread; potato tart'. Mari: katlama, 'cake of unleavened dough filled with hempseed'.

22. böräk: 'fried or baked pie, dough stuffed with meat'. Basically a SW word; also found in Kazakh, Karakalpak, northern Caucasus and (a clear borrowing) among the Bashkir of Orenburg. It is the familiar Turkish börek. In Turkmen it means 'ravioli'. KI: böräk, 'pieces of dough stuffed with meat'. There is also a

sweet variety, chäkärli böräk. BM: böräk, 'dough stuffed with meat'; chäkär böräk.

This word is widely borrowed in the eastern Mediterranean: Syrian and Egyptian Arabic burak, Tunisian Arabic brik, Algerian Arabic braka, Persian burak (from 14th century), Greek bourekia, Albanian byrek, Serbocroatian borek/burek, Bulgarian biurek ('layered pie with cheese and egg'), Rumanian bureca, Armenian böreg. Kalmuk, börg, 'pie'.

Inconclusive evidence has been put forth connecting this word with the Russian pirog, but no borrowing in either direction is at all likely. The Chuvash word pürek, in the absence of any related word in Tatar or Bashkir, might be borrowed from Russian.

23. lavash: 'lavash, a large flat bread, often baked quite hard like a dry biscuit or cracker'. Found in SW; borrowed in Tatar and Bashkir. The etymology is troublesome because no native Turkish word begins with l. The 9th-10th century Turfan texts contain a word liv (borrowed from Arabic laif) in the sense of 'food, ritual food', and a compound word liv-ash with the same meaning. There must remain some uncertainty about the relation between lavash and liv-ash. In Tatar, läwäsh means not only a flat bread but a sort of small pie: a circle of unleavened dough folded over a filling of raisins, sugar and butter, and fried.

Lavash is found in Persian, Armenian and Georgian (lavashi). The Ossetes of the central Caucasus, who speak the only surviving member of the Scythian branch of the Iranian language group, have borrowed the word twice: lawłz or lauz, 'pancake', and (via Georgian) lwashi, 'flat bread'.

BEER

24. boza: 'beer'. CA and SW, also Chuvash (para, from a hypothetical form *paraga). Usually no particular grain is specified. KI: boza, 'wheat or barley beer (bizr)'.

Arabic and Persian buza, boza. Serbocroatian and Albanian bozë, 'a refreshing drink, a drink of millet etc.' Kalmuk boz, 'vodka distilled from kumyss'. Urdu: boza, buza, 'liquor made from rice, barley or millet; beer'. Russian braga, 'homebrewed beer'; from some Western Turkish language related to Chuvash.

If the word boza is related to bozu ('a drink of camel's milk', found in old Osmanli and Jagatai Turkish), and thus to Literary Mongolian boju ('dregs, sediment after distilling whey') and modern Mongolian boz (see Kalmuk boz above), then this may be a word that predates Turkish acquaintance with grain. The older sense of boza as a fermented milk drink might then be seen in the word as borrowed in Pashto: boza, 'kumyss, soured drink'.

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APPENDIX I: FORGOTTEN DISHES

Mahmud of Kashgar's 11th century dictionary lists a number of grain-based foods and drinks by names that have not survived.

aghartghu	'wheat beer' (from aghar- 'to be white'; cf. berliner Weisse)
avzurɨ	'cooked mixture of wheat and barley flour'
begni, bekni	'drink of wheat, millet and barley' (still used in the 15th century Jagatai literary language.)
bukhsɨ	'cooked wheat mixed with almonds, honey and milk and left to sour; the wheat and almonds were then eaten and the liquid drunk.'
bukhsum	'millet beer'
büskäch	'loaf bread'
büshkäl, püshkäl	'thin flat bread'
chöp	'a single noodle'. (In present-day Uighur, chöp or chöp ash is a particular noodle dish.)
chuqmɨn	'a cake steamed in a pot'
közmän	'ashcake'
kürshäk	'millet boiled in water or milk and flavored with butter'
küvshäk	'soft bread'
letü	'noodles chilled with water, snow or ice' (The pronunciation is uncertain. Perhaps a Chinese word, liang, 'cold'.)
mün	'soup' (The word is still found in Yakut and Tuva. Mahmud remarks that in eastern Xinjiang he found it to be a soup with noodles.)
sinchü	'bread, between flatbread and loaf'
suma	'malted barley for porridge, bread or beer'
surush	'wheat roasted in the ear before the grains harden'
to	evidently a drink of soured batter. Chinese?
top	'barley dough left in a warm place to sour' (cf. Kirgiz top, 'dregs')
yamata	'dough smeared on fat chicken or meat so that the fat will not run out when the meat is roasted'. First consonant is uncertain (tamata? bamata?)

APPENDIX II: LINGUSITIC SOURCES

Tuva: A A Pal'mbakh, Russko-Tuvinskii Slovar', Gosud. Izdat. Inostr. i Nats. Slovarei, Moscow 1953. dalgan, borsak, bɨda, charba, mün

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CORN: STONE-AGE AND IRON-AGE CONFRONTATIONS IN NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES

Alice Ross

The stone-age world of native American Indians met the iron-age European culture in the New World, and there should have been sparks (or at least a resounding burst of popcorn!). It was one of those pivotal moments in history when two groups touch and are never again the same. Each tried to hold on to its own ways, to resist change, but was forced or enticed into adaptations. Corn maize was a criticsl food of thst confrontation.

Unknown in Europe before Columbus, it was the staple grain and most important single food of North America, by general consensus of fifteenth-century observers and historians to this day [Rutman, 1967:11; Hooker, 1981:32; Carr, 1895:7; Hardeman, 1981:3; et al.]. Although there were some Indian tribes which did not use corn at all, they were the exceptions, and mostly to be found in the Pacific Northwest [Hardeman, 1981:25-6; Malouf and Hultdranz, 1974]. Corn became the major grain of colonial farming almost immediately, despite original European preference for wheat, and it was the most grown and consumed grain throughout American history, right into this century when it was (just recently) supplanted by soy beans [Hardeman, 1981:3-4]. Its use both shaped and was shaped by colonial needs and experience. Indian uses changed as well, and in ways equally pervasive, as the tribes first adapted to localized contacts and coexistence with whites, and later to the pressing needs of survival [Holder, 1970; Adams, 1976:35-50].

Each food culture was seen, from the start, to have certain desirable products. Europeans offered metal pots, utensils and agricultural tools, domesticated animals for meat, dairy products and work; and a combination of new fruits and vegetables which represented centuries of African-Asian-European exploration and trade. In exchange they sought turkeys and the many new vegetative foods which were seen to complement their own, particularly in their ability to use otherwise useless soil [Crosby, 1972: 176]. Needless to say, all European diets were not the same, nor did native Americans share identical cuisines; yet it may be safe to generalize enough to say that each set of usages was distinct [ibid:170].

CORN IN PRE-COLUMBIAN AMERICA

According to Paul Mangelsdorf's 25,000-year-old pollen evidences, wild corn, at least, can be traced back to Mexican origins [Hardeman, 1981:7-8]. With domestication it apparently spread radially, making its way into North America by routes that are not completely clear [Vlahos, 1970:135]. Bat Cave, New Mexico (U.S.A.) has revealed remains of pod corn (which is no longer used actively) and popcorn dating back 5600 years [Hardeman, 1981:10]. By the time Columbus saw corn for the first time, it had reached the southern tier of eastern Canada and grew almost across the Continent [Sauer, 1952:64; Vlahos, 1970:124ff; Sturtevant, 1919:612-5]. And it not only grew almost everywhere, but was always in the same company. In the words of Lucien Carr [1895:7]: 'Corn, beans and pumpkins were cultivated wherever, within the limits of the United States, they could be grown to advantage.' The important limiting factors (apart from cultural differences, and they are tied in) were extremes of altitude, latitude and rainfall [Sauer, 1952:64].

Native Americans have thus depended on corn as their staple grain - in fact had no other - and they consumed it in large proportions. Bennett makes the following comparisons based on caloric intake [Bennett, 1955: 369-97]:

	INDIAN 1605-75	WHITE AMERICAN 1953
Meat, fish and fowl	19%	22%
Fruit, vegetable etc.	26%	55% (includes dairy)
Grain	65% (corn alone)	23% (corn, wheat, rye, oats, buckwheat, rice)

In the following look at Indian corn usage, it will be convenient to lump various tribes together, and yet it will help to keep in mind some basic differences. Certain tribal groups are closer to Mexico geographically and culturally. Some are corn-growing agricultural societies involved with other hunting-gathering groups who trade for corn. (It has been suggested that a good many of these latter were originally agricultural and that they adopted a new mode in response to white culture: Holder, 1970:65ff; Webb, 1931:53; Vlahos, 1970:20-25.) The following scheme for classifying tribal cultures is one way of grouping them culturally and geographically [Dollar et al., 1979:4-10]:

1. Arid Southwest (ex.: Pueblo): village corn-growing, uses irrigation and digging-stick (no hoe), quicklime alkali to de-hull hominy, stone metate and mano for hand-milling, adobe ovens, clay utensils, tortilla breads and tamales, and religious symbols like the Mexican.
2. Southeastern Woodlands (ex.: Natchez): village corn-growing, follows Mexico in mound-building, clay and stone artifacts, tamales, religion. Cherokee in this area are more like Northern Woodlands groups.
3. Northeastern Woodlands (ex.: Iroquois Confederacy): village corn-growers, use of corn cribs for drying, lye alkali for hominy, pit-baking, wooden hominy mills, women agriculturalists. Algonkians were active hunter-gatherers, nomadic in winter and corn-growing in summer, tamales.
4. Plains and Mississippi Woodland (ex.: Plains): mixed nomadic hunter-gatherers on horseback and corn-growing villagers, active trade. Similar to Northeastern groups [Holder, 1970:119-23].
5. Northwest: fishing/hunting/gathering of different styles; used little if any corn, substituting acorns, nuts and seeds, influenced by Siberian and Eskimo cultures [Adams, 1976:35-47; Malouf and Hultkranz, 1974].

That there is little corn-growing on the Great Plains is thought by some to be due to buffalo and migration patterns [Hardeman, 1981:25, citing de Soto's expedition, 1540]. The differences above appear to be related to geographic distance from Mexican origins, materials available for cooking and farming utensils, and the ecology.

Similarities outweigh differences. Corn growing is associated with a particular kind of society thought to be higher in evolution than hunter-gathering societies. They are communal, matriarchal (women determine descent and ownership, have certain religious and political powers and higher status, and are the chief agriculturalists). Religion and folk-ways were oriented to natural cycles and phenomena; and their corn artifacts and methods were remarkably alike [Horgan, 1954:177; Hardeman, 1981:15; Witthoft, 1949:3-4]. The extensive trade networks covering the continent and the relative newness of corn in North America are probably factors [Vlahos, 1970:130-6; Carr, 1895:9].

Corn centrality shows in the religious and folkloristic words and their connections: the words for corn, the gods, the people - they are often the same despite distance. The Navajo 'First Mother' of myth was the corn-giver. In the Northeast, Delaware Indians pray to the 'Corn Mother', and others to 'She Who Sustains Us', 'Our Mother', 'Mother of Life' [Giles, 1940:18]. A contemporary Pueblo Indian says, 'Corn is a very sacred food, because in the legends, when the corn finally comes up, the corn becomes a man... So the corn is used in sacred ceremonies and is universal throughout the whole Indian nation' [Keegan, 1977:14].

AGRICULTURE

Women did the farming in the North and East. In the Southwest, even though there is evidence that men are now doing agriculture, the women own the corn and still figure in the fertility rituals [Steece, 1918:414; Leacock, 1980:71-2, quoting white captive Mary Jemison]. Perhaps it is the tie-in with irrigation and government that accounts for the variation; generally farming was done by women. In the North and East they did everything except clear the land [Harriot, 1590; Rutman, 1967:7-8; Leacock, 1980:54-5]. Seed was chosen carefully from the past year's harvest on the basis of length of time for maturation, the size of the ear, the shape and hardness of the kernel, and the color. This selective growing produced over time five main kinds of corn, each with myriad variations regionally [Hardeman, 1981:10-12; Sauer, 1952:64-5,70].

Flint corn and dent corn were hard-kernel corns, grown most in the North and East. Dent corn, so named because of the indented facets of its kernels, was only somewhat softer. Flint corn needed special alkali soaks to loosen the tough hull in preparation for milling or cooking. Soft corn was favoured in the Southwest because of arduous milling on stone metates. Popcorn was grown and eaten everywhere, but sweet corn is being debated. Apparently some tribes knew it and loved it (Weatherwax, 1954:108, believed that the Hopi used it so long that the origin is unknown: '...it had always been in existence.') Others believe it arose spontaneously from natural cross-breeding, appearing intermittently amongst other strains [Hardeman, 1981:10-12; Sturtevant, 1919:618-9].

In addition each type of corn grew ears of different colours - black, red, blue, yellow and variegated [Hardeman, 1981:11]. Coloured kernels were selected for special uses. Harrington [1908:575], quotes Morgan, a mid-19th century ethnologist, who found that among the Seneca tribe, red corn was preferred for parching. Elsewhere white kernels were thought to be sweeter and were used in breads. And in the Southwest blue corn was singled out for piki bread and particular dumplings [Keegan, 1977:71,104-5; Hardeman, 1981:11].

Coloured corns had mythological significance, each being assigned to a different direction (north, south, east and west, up and down) and therefore different powers [ibid:11]. And the golden color of pollen was

frequently chosen for medicinal and spiritual rituals [Keegan, 1977:16].

Carr's early description of agriculture in the East and North [1895:7ff] is based on many early accounts. 'Corn was the main dependence of all tribes... as the manner of cultivation and the different ways of cooking it were practically the same everywhere and at all times.' Men cleared the fields, girdling the trees to kill them a year in advance, sometimes burning the branches and brush. Peter Kalm, a Finnish scientist traveling in North America in 1747-51, found areas on the Delaware where dead trees were left standing, as they in no way interfered with sun or cultivation [Kerkkonen, 1959:175]; they had been of special interest to him as he already knew of such 'deadenings' from home. The humus-covered ex-forest was rich and easily tilled without ploughing [Hardeman, 1981:44-5]. Some tribes burned off stubble each year [Harriot, 1590:14-5]. Fields varied in size, some reaching for miles [Carr, 1895;11-12].

Women, sometimes with men, prepared fields for planting by scratching up the soil into hills, paced off in rows or helix patterns, sometimes burning the stubble. Seed was occasionally soaked to speed germination, occasionally in urine to discourage predators [ibid, 12-3]. Holes for the corn seed were poked into each hill with a pointed stick, and then corn was dropped in by hand and covered with a hoe made of bone, shell, or wood [Hardeman, 1981:76; Rutman, 1967:7-9]. When they had germinated, climbing beans and squash or pumpkins were planted in the same hills; in northern climates with shorter growing seasons they were all planted at once. The beans grew apace with the corn, climbing together into the sun, while the squash or pumpkin vines spread low between the hills to effectively mulch and prevent weeds. These 'three sisters', to use the Iroquois name [Carr, 1895:8] were a unique and symbiotic arrangement of combination planting in the New World [Sauer, 1975:131,138ff; Hardemann, 1981:79].

Hoeing and weeding were done only once or twice, and then only in the hills. The spaces in between the hills (four to eight feet) were never cultivated at all. Reports differ on the neatness or messiness of this Indian practice: Rutman [1967:10] believed it 'required assiduous hoeing to keep the weeds down', while Bennett [1955:388] has found evidence that it was unnecessary. In dry areas, in the Southwest, small levies were hoed around each hill to keep in rain or irrigation waters [Horgan, 1954: 61] or small mounds of rock may be piled as windbreaks for each hill [Steece, 1918:419].

Although they suffer from worms and other predators [ibid, 419], blackbirds were 'the great devourers' of the sprouting corn [Bennett, 1955:386]; for this purpose, 'the Indians keep hawks tame about their houses to keepe the little Birds from their Corn' [Bennett quoting Roger Williams, 1643]. Some children were set to chasing crows [Hardeman, 1981:188]. As the corn ripened, platforms were built over the field and patrolled [Horgan, 1954; Carr, 1895:13].

American schoolchildren grow up on the legend of Squanto, the Algonkian Indian who saved the early Pilgrims in Massachusetts by teaching them to plant corn. Governor Bradford (1650-85) relates the tale, including the instructions to enrich each hill with a couple of alewives (the herring just coming into the streams to spawn). But Harriot and others insist that there was no evidence of fertilizing of any kind, not even the ashes left after burning off fields for planting [Harriot, 1512:14]; and recent research bears him out [Ceci, 1979:10]. One wonders if Squanto's enforced three-year stay in England exposed him to the benefits of fertilization.

A succession of plantings using varieties of different ripening times assured the continuity of green corn until frost, and more important a

large harvest of ripe corn to last through winter [Rutman, 1967:9]. Between last plantings and hoeings in June, and the first edible corn (a matter of weeks), there was time for agriculturalists to relax, and for fishing-gathering-hunting efforts to fill the stewpots [Carr, 1895:13-4]. In bad years, this was the hungry time.

The first green-corn (when the milk had set - our sweet-corn corn-on-the-cob stage) was welcomed with the most important religious and festive observances of the corn cycle. Thanks were given for the season's first food, and prayers were offered for a good ripening. Days of feasting and dancing, singing and ritual livened the celebration. John Wittloff believes this ceremony to be the most universally important in the Eastern Woodland groups [1949:5, passim]. In the Southwest the corn dances stressed rain, understandably [Horgan, 1954:36,62].

Ripe corn standing in the field does not present the urgent pressure to harvest that one finds with other grains. It only dries out a little more, which is necessary in any case. Therefore corn harvesting was often done gradually, and over a somewhat longer period. Staggered plantings also provided staggered harvests. Only when there was risk - from weather or marauders - was it done all at once, and by the whole village.

In many cases the corn was slipshucked in the field - snapped from the stalk with only the inner husks adhering. Clean husking was done at home, in greater comfort and security. Special seed corn was braided into ropes by the husks, and was then dried or festooned in the house or on gates and roofs [Hardeman, 1981:114]. Two other storage methods were more common: corn cribs - small, open-roofed buildings - held the drying ears; and underground caches, lined with cedar bark or sweet grasses, and well concealed, held shucked corn in baskets or jars [ibid:113-4; Carr, 1894: 14]. Sometimes corn was buried in mounds of earth or beach sand [Bennett, 1955:376, quoting Edward Winslow's discovery while scouting on the beach, a year before Plymouth].

Indian corn yields amounted to only eighteen bushels an acre [Rutman, 1967:43-5]. One woman managed about 2½ acres with the help of her children, thus producing about forty-five bushels for her family for the year [Bennett, 1955:376]. By today's standards that is not high yield, but consider that it was all pure profit. None was used for any kind of overhead, to feed animals or buy land or equipment, and it took only a small part of the year.

INDIAN FOODWAYS

The range of recipes and food usages reported was impressive but not surprising for a food that overshadowed all others. Parker alone collected forty-two Iroquois corn recipes [Parker, 1910:66-79]. A modern Navajo woman, Louva Dahozy, says: 'We prepare corn about two hundred fifty different ways' [Keegan, 1977:58]; Steece [1918:114] counted fifty-two Hopi dishes.

Apparently served in different forms and combinations within the same meal, seasoned with game, fruits or vegetables, bear grease and seed and nut oils, it was not thought boring [Carr, 1895:27-8; Parker, 1910:66-79 passim]. John Bartram [1751:60-1] describes a great feast which followed a large council of chiefs:

> ... this repast confifted of 3 great kettles of Indian corn foup, or thin homony, with dry'd eels and other fish boiled in it, and one kettle full of young fquafhes and their flowers boiled in water, and a little meal mixed; this difh was but weak food, laft of all was

> ferved a great bowl, full of Indian dumplings, made of new foft corn, cut or fcraped off the ear, then with the addition of fome boiled beans, lspped well up in Indian corn leaves, this is good hearty provision... ' and later: 'a great bowl of boiled cakes, 6 or 7 inches diameter, and about 2 thick with another of boiled fquafh...

Even with the distinctions one must make between hunting-gathering and agricultural peoples, corn uses were remarkably similar. The obvious differences in ingredients and portability, of the clsy pots of sedentary farmers and the hide and wood of nomads, does not represent a large change in cooking.

MILLING

Most of the corn consumed by Indians was ripe corn. Like other grains it needed milling, fine or coarse, for easier cooking, eating and digesting. Indian milling was always done on a small scale and by hand [Storck and Teague, 1952:20-24; Parker, 1910:46-9; Hardeman, 1981:124-8]. Samp, for example, was pounded dry and left coarse for porridge [ibid:126]. Meal for breads was finer.

Hominy was prepared from flint corn, which had a particularly tough hull to be removed before milling. In most cases it was soaked overnight or boiled in an alkali - quicklime in the Southwest, and in the East lye leached from hardwood ashes. Loosened hulls were rubbed off in special baskets amongst the Iroquois; they had been woven to be abrasive and with large openings near the top to float off the hulls. Many washes in clear wster rinsed out the alkali, still in the same multi-purpose basket [Parker, 1910:49-50; Carr, 1895:22]. Hominy was used in a variety of millings, from whole to fine.

The mill itself depended on materials at hand. In the wooded areas samp mills and hominy blocks were made of tree logs, often hollowed by alternating fire and chipping. The pounder was hesvy, also of wood and several feet long. To reduce the labor it was suspended from a springy overhead branch [ibid:22-3]. And in some regions holes in large rocks were used as mortars.

To the Southwest, milling was communally done. Weatherwax [1954:90] quotes Castaneda, 16th century:

> There is a room or a separate building where there is a grinding place with three stones set in mortar metates, tilted stone platforms. Three women come in, each goes to her own stone. One crushes the grain, another grinds it, and another grinds it again. Before they come inside the door, they take off their shoes, tie up their hair, and cover their heads, and shake out their clothes. While they are grinding a man sits at the door playing a flute, and the women grind and sing, moving the stones in time with the music. They grind a large amount at one time because all their bread, which is in the form of wafers tortillas, is made from flour mixed with hot water.

Parched corn was also milled, especially for travel food and special puddings, and was highly favored [Bennett, 1955:151].

BAKING

Cornmeals and pastes were kneaded with water and shaped for boiling, baking, and often processes that used both. Thin breads were baked on heated stones, sometimes under inverted kettles. Thicker ones were set in clay dishes or wrapped in cornhusks and baked in the ashes [Parker, 1910: 69; Beverly, 1705, reprinted 1947:151].

Pueblo Indians of the Southwest used a horno, an adobe oven resembling those of Mexico. Within it they made the fire, scraped out the ashes and then baked the loaves. On its exterior surface they made piki - a wafer bread from blue-corn batter. The thin batter is spread on the oven wall in thin layers, and peeled off like paper when done [Hesse, 1973; Keegan, 1977:106].

The Southwest also prepared tortillas, in the Mexican fashion, sometimes called slapbread [ibid.,102,109].

The Plains and Woodland Indians used no such structures for baking, but prepared 'fire pits, pots or sunken ovens' [Parker, 1910:59; Sauer, 1952: 10] dug into the ground. The fire burns in the pit, and when the ground is quite hot, the embers are raked aside and the food thrown in, then covered with cold ashes for insulation, and allowed to bake by the heat remaining in the ground. Some pits were clay lined or made in clay banks [Parker, 1910:61]. Some pits were lined with stones before setting the fire to help hold heat, or covered with wet grasses for steam. These were to make up one of the new American indigenous cooking processes - the clambake [Randel, 1978:12].

BOILING

The most important equipment, the pot or kettle for boiling hominy and meat, was first because most cooking used it. As a rule they were made of clay, mixed with powdered shells for strength, and varied in size from two to ten or even twenty gallons. They were glazed over a large fire of smoky pitchpine, which made them smooth, black and firm [Carr, 1895:20-21]. They were either suspended from a wooden tripod or from a brace-and-uprights arrangement, or set over the fire propped on stones [Parker, 1910:46]. Soapstone was used, too.

Corn was boiled in many forms, as so many breads were more like dumplings [ibid., passim], sometimes wrapped in cornhusks like Mexican tamales. Special shaping marked particular occasions: wedding breads were wrapped dumbbell-fashion, actually twin loaves [Parker, 1910:71-2]. In the Southwest corn bread for festivals was shaped like flowers, or shell-coils or petals, or spikes [Horgan, 1954:63].

Cornbreads were varied with different additions for seasoning - squash or pumpkin, beans, bear grease, nut or seed oils, dried berries, or bits of meat [Carr, 1895:29-30].

Cornmeal was also used to thicken soups and stews, to make the porridges that were the backbone of Indian cooking. Highly favored were the puddings made from parched corn or sweet corn [Parker, 1910:67, passim].

There is some mention of boiling in large calabashes, especially in the Southwest. Carr describes a method of heating stones in the fire and flipping them into the calabash to bring the water to the boil; stones are removed and replaced as they cool [ibid., 23].

Weatherwax [1954:108] lists boiled corn, or cornsilks, as vegetables.

ROASTING

Corn was roasted in the husks and eaten like a vegetable, or for parching [Harrington, 1908:590; Weatherwax, 1954:107]. Parker lists ember-roasting

[1910:68], and Harrington gives a diagram of a rack for roasting ears over the fire [1908:590; Parker, 1910:77].

Popcorn was roasted, in a sense, sometimes in a clay kettle and sometimes in hot sand [Parker, 1910:78].

Perhaps unusual, Parker also describes a roasting technique wherein corn ears are encased in clay and then baked [ibid.].

PARCHING

This process is a kind of storage technique, but used in favorite foods. Green corn (usually) is boiled or roasted, and then scraped off the cob using a deer's jaw. The kernels are then set to dry and are stored, either pounded with sugar (nokake) or as is. As nokake, this was a common travel food, eaten dry with water on the side. Or it might have been used in puddings, breads, soups etc. [Bartram, 1751:71; Bennett, 1955:379; Harrington, 1908:589].

STEAMING, FRYING, DRINKS ETC.

Parker describes a process that might be steaming, in which a bark dish is placed over a kettle of boiling liquid for gentle cooking.

Frying raises a controversial question, whether or not the clay pots could stand enough heat. Parker says yes [1910:68] and describes a green corn dish fried in bear grease. Guenther [1981:23] says no.

There were also an interesting assortment of drinks made from corn. Atole, from the Southwest, is almost a gruel, thickened and flavored [ibid., 9]. Weatherwax, citing Acosta in 1589 [1954:110], describes a more unusual technique: corn meal is mouthed for several minutes, allowing the enzymes in saliva to convert the starch to sugar. Then it is spit into a bowl and collected until there is enough. Acosta believed that only young women with sweet mouths were asked to do this job. Corn 'coffee' was brewed from parched corn [Parker, 1910:77], smut (fungus of the ear) was used as we use mushrooms [Weatherwax, 1954:119], and Parker even describes a dish of decayed corn [1910:79]. The list is not exhausted. One could go on with medicinal uses, wrappings, toys, implements etc., all made from something in the plant; let me leave you with the children sucking the stem for its sweet juices, just like sugar cane [Bartram, 1751:47].

INDIAN ACCULTURATIONS

The first changes were the simplest. Indians, from first contacts, were happy to trade for iron (and copper or brass) cooking implements - especially kettles. And they apparently switched to iron hoes, axes, and simple hand-tools of agriculture. The trade descriptions are too numerous to list. Iron kettles apparently became a standard item of trade, either with Europeans or nomadic tribes and farming tribes. Holder [1954:121-2] describes a large trading session between the Hidatsa and the Crows in 1888, in which '100 bushels of corn plus quantities of kettles, axes...' were exchanged for a quantity of horses, bison robes, buckskin shirts, dried meat etc. The iron kettles may have improved on clay, but did not change the recipes at all.

More important to the Indians were domesticated animals. Pork, and especially bacon fat and lard, substituted for bear meat and grease and venison. Kalm reports domesticated pigs in 1748-51 [Kerkkonen, 1959:177], and Parker and Carr note the change. Harrington [1908:582-5] notes the change to butter and sugar; Parker [1910:65] records recipes noting present use - bacon fat - and traditional use - bear grease. The use of yeast

appears to be a qualitative change - and wheat flour; Keegan [1977: 107] records Navajo fry-bread, a flattened and fried, puffed-wheat bread. Another small note: Hesse [1973] lists baking powder as a new replacement for calcium carbonate previously made from roasted shin bones and reminiscent of early European hartshorn. Corn usage remained central, and in relatively unchanged ways.

It was not until long after the colonial period, 1908 in fact, that Harrington sounds the alarm [p. 590]: 'It cannot be denied that the Iroquois as a people are rapidly discarding what remains of the old life and customs...' and urges that they be recorded.

More important to the Indians than European foods were another domesticated animal, the horse, which came to play a key role in defense. Mounted, they were in a better position to move ahead of the white invasion, to improve on hunting styles, and many horticultural groups reverted to the lower, earlier organization of hunting and gathering. Along with that change came instability of allegiance, leadership and habitation which changed the position of women, political structure, and the communal orientation in favor of individuality [Holder, 1954: 123-37]. No longer horticultural, many now traded for corn, placing additional burdens on the agriculturists who remained.

Ironically, the Navaho were eventually moved south and forced to leave off their nomadic ways; they changed in the other direction once on reservation, and became horticultural [Farb, 1968: 267-8].

EUROPEANS IN THE NEW WORLD

Enter Columbus and a century of competitive European explorers from Spain, England, Holland, Sweden amd France. For more than a century news and goods of the New World made their way eastward across the Atlantic. Corn got an early start in Spain, which sent it to the Middle East; the Portuguese established it in the Congo. Neither country did a great deal with it at home. They called it first 'mahiz' after the Taino (Caribbean) word, 'Zea mays' in Latin botanical classification by Swedish Linnaeus, and corn in English, after the common word meaning 'grain'. [OED, 1971: 1699]. A host of travelers came to see and publish. Herbalists had a field day with all the new plant foods (Oviedo and Fuches, especially). Early reports were often inaccurate, though budding scientists and missionaries may have come closest. Weatherwax describes these early reporters, singling out for praise Las Casas, Spanish priest who wrote History of the Indies; or English Thomas Harriot, Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, and its careful illustrations by artist John White [Weatherwax, 1954: 8, passim, and 34].

The first colonists, early in the seventeenth century, came shaped by the complexity of European civilization. Regulated by king and church, families were individual units of profit, private production and consumption. Their endeavors were largely agricultural, but encompassed practical and advanced hand-skills and technology in metals and wood. They had little of the true communal sense of the Indians, although Plymouth aimed for it, nor the native oneness with nature (comparable to their ancient Druids). They were perfectly at liberty to exploit the land for gain, being nudged by growing European population, dissatisfaction with social or economic conditions, and the increasing appetites for growth of thought, skills and goods. They found the new large land mass underpopulated and relatively unresisting [Demos, 1970:180-90; Rutman,

1967:4-6; Hardeman, 1981:18-19].

Despite the varied backgrounds of early European settlers, their food patterns were fairly consistent. They had strong preferences for wheat, rye, barley and oats; for domesticated meats and dairy products, sugar and spice, and the assorted fruits and vegetables of ancient tradition. They tried with varying success to grow them here. Grain dishes - frumenties, porridges, gruels, and of course breads - had resulted from a 10,000-year-old history of wheat, and wheat, it was found, was not always an easy crop to grow in the New World [Storck and Teague, 1952:17 passim]. 'The first divergence from European culture was in diet,' says Randel [1978:11]. 'The immigrants did not abandon their familiar foods, those they could bring in the form of seeds and livestock, but with the help of friendly Indians and by means of their own trial-and-error methods, they greatly increased the variety of edibles to be ranked on the scale of preference.' [Ibid.:12]

COLONIAL HISTORY

The first settlers in Virginia (1609) and Plymouth (1621) came unprepared to survive, and most did not [Rutman, 1967:4-7]. They each learned to depend on Indians for gifts or trades of corn, and then lessons in how to grow and prepare it; still they suffered severe decimation from starvation in the first years, hard to imagine in the midst of that idyllic plenty [Giles, 1940:67].

And each colony needed to overcome initial resistance to the farming itself. Governor Dale, of Virginia, mandated that each man must grow three acres of corn a year in place of the money crop, tobacco, and John Smith enforced his edict that 'only he who works shall eat!' Governor Bradford found it necessary to change from idealistic communal farming to individual and reported: 'Women now wente willingly into the fields and took their little-ons with them to set corne...' [Rutman, 1967:12-13; Giles, 1940:75].

At first corn was the only grain Europeans could grow successfully, but within a few years the New England soils were conditioned for 'small grains' - wheat, rye, oats and barley, and they were grown on a limited scale as cash crops. New Englanders preferred eating wheat, but corn ran their world [Storck and Teague, 1952:148]. 'In 1631 maize was made legal tender for debts, fines and taxes at a fixed rate of six shillings the bushel. Law prohibited the feeding of this "country pay" to the swine except if a plentiful harvest sent the value of corn down below the six-shilling rate.' [Giles, 1940:89]

The lucrative fur trade that motivated early expansions was likewise run by corn, as early English and Dutch found they could trade corn for beaver [ibid.:88; Salmon, 1915:30-34]. Frontier farms and settlements protected territorial claims and fended off Indian attack while providing corn for life and trade; at the same time fur trading posts forged into the wilderness [Giles, 1940:89-92].

The large river valleys were staked out early: the Delaware by Sweden; the Hudson by the Dutch (and later the English); the James, Virginia, and the James, Boston, by the English; the St Lawrence and the Mississippi by the French. Their rich soils and easy transportation were their assets; next came the inland valleys of New York, Virginia, Kentucky, Connecticut. Along the routes of the frontier women and children worked with men and freed them for the heaviest work of clearing and building cabins. 'Corn titles' were the legal titles awarded squatters who planted corn and built a house [ibid.:100, Salmon, 1915:27].

Corn thus worked out indentures, debts etc. and peopled the New World. John Filson's descriptions of early pioneer Kentucky suggest harvests of

one hundred bushels an acre [1784:24], along with only thirty bushels of wheat, and fifty of rye per acre.

This was possible only because of the generous nature of corn - that it produced abundantly on virgin lands, which wheat did not; that it needed no extensive weeding, thrashing or winnowing, or commercial milling; that it could be grown and harvested by women and children; that it fed satisfactorily both people and their domesticated animals.

AGRICULTURE

European farming was based, traditionally, on the plow, harrow, wheeled cart and oxen [Rutman, 1967:36]. Fenced fields were fertilized with manure and wood ashes, and fields were rotated in a succession of crops and fallow times. Seeding was done by hand, broadcasting into furrows and covering the seed with soil pushed up by the plow as it dug the adjacent furrow (or with a hand hoe). Harvesting was demanding - timing was critical, and thrashing and winnowing were arduous.

They tried these, to the best of their sbility, in those early settlements, and as they were unable to bring enough equipment, fell back on corn in the Indian style [Storck and Teague, 1952:145]. With incressing numbers of oxen they worked out a compromise system which combined Indian hills and European rows: they plowed in a grid and placed hills where the rows intersected, and planted by hand. And despite problems with wolves after the fish, they enriched each hill with alewives [Rutman, 1967:10; Hardeman, 1981:76]. But by mid-century the trend back to English methods had begun - rows in-fenced, 'carefully fertilized, plowed, harrowed and sown... using English manuring.' [Rutman, 1967:17] What they did not resume was the fallow times. Manuring, according to Hardeman [1981:28] was the crux: it became cheaper to move than to fertilize. And thus began a major pattern of the frontier. As soils wore down and settlements and towns became overcrowded, there were some who preferred to sell and move west, beginning again with cheap land.

By the late seventeenth century, European farming was changing. New ideas and equipment - seeding and plowing innovations, better crop rotations, ditching/trenching/draining techniques - heralded the agricultural revolution of the next century. England was opting for an intensive system, suited to its rising population but fixed land, and was finding ways to increase yield per acre. American farmers chose differently. They had been finding American soils less than endlessly rich. Their yields were often lower than England's, and considerably less than what the newer methods were achieving. Americans looked at the presumably limitless cheap land and labor scarcity and began the pattern of extensive farming on which the nation grew. In a manner somewhst like the Indian's, they tilled and moved on [Rutman, 1967:60].

In some ways, moving on meant the possibilities of a new job entirely. The quick return from corn-growing that is associated with the frontier worked as well to free men for seafaring; it was the high yield at relatively low lsbor cost that also made possible slavery and the Virginia plantations [Giles, 1940:86].

The technology of European agriculture also made possible commercial milling. Although the first mills were, like the Indians', hand-mills of wood, large hominy-blocks, within a few years the first grist mills were erected and run communally [Storck and Teague, 1952:146; Hardeman, 1981:126-8]. The corn still needed shelling, and for this job Indian methods were used. Corn-cobs were used to loosen the first rows, and the rest were wrung off; or loosened by beating with a club in a blanket; or

husking-pegs and graters were devised of wood and iron. Eventually they bevame quite mechanized for home use [Hardeman, 1981:118-22]. Mills on the frontiers had a way of becoming centers of activity in the wilderness, and many grew into towns [Giles, 1940:178, passim].

There was something congenial about sharing simple jobs, and shucking bees became social gatherings, especially for the courting young [Rutman, 1967:52].

COLONIAL FOODWAYS

If corn was the backbone of growing colonial America, the number of dishes surely reflects it.

At first the settlers followed their Indian teachers and used Indian dishes verbatim. They prepared hominy, samp, succatash, ashcake and pone, parched corn and popcorn just as they were taught. When they had enough cows and chickens, milk and eggs, they must have begun to replace corn for wheat in familiar recipes of home. Many foods using corn are just that: puddings, fritters, hotcakes, breads, pickles, 'made dishes'.

Until the late eighteenth century, corn is not mentioned in printed American cookbooks, which had, up to that time, reflected upper-class English food fashion. After the War of Independence, with emerging new domestic roles for women and popularized cookbooks, it suddenly appeared in quantity.

Everywhere one comes on the words 'corne', 'Turkey corn', 'Indian meal', 'Indian corn', or just 'Injun' - all signifying the same grain.

Regional cuisines were emerging with their own corn uses, depending on national origins and local resources. And they also reflected European cooking methods now transplanted: oven-roasting and baking, steaming, frying, as well as traditional Indian ones. Of course they were attended by the iron, copper, brass and bell-metal, pewter and porcelain refinements of Europe, as well as hand-carved wood or local clay. And wherever possible, beloved wheat (or whichever local grain) was combined with corn to stretch it, and spiced it.

The English in New England made hasty pudding of corn meal, molasses, milk or cream, perhaps raisins [Giles, 1940:309]. 'Thirded breads' combined wheat, rye and cornmeal, usually leavened with yeast. Rye'n'Injun is what it seems. Bannock was made with cornmeal in place of oats, and Boston Brown Bread turns out to be a pudding, originally boiled in a pudding bag in the old English way, but with cornmeal in place of some of the rye and/or wheat [Plimoth Colony Cookbook, 1957:47-53].

Rhode Island became famous for buckwheat and corn griddle cakes [Giles, 1940:319], cooked slowly on a soapstone griddle, and for johnny cake, slightly sweeter than Southern varieties. This 'journey cake' is somehow similar to Indian nokake, parched travel corn.

Virginia specialized in a great variety of 'hot breads', often preferring them to wheat despite its commonness. Special local ham and bacon accompany them at almost every meal: 'hog and hominy'. African slaves of the large plantations did likewise, grinding their weekly peck of corn at night, on their own time, and serving their cornbread with greens-and-potlikker, the original soul food [Bullock, 1938:86; Lewis, 1976:174; Lee, 1970:8].

In Carolina, predominantly rice country, the Carolina Housewife lists more corn recipes than rice, many of them combinations of Indian and

English ingredients [Ruttledge, 1780]. And here one finds an esrly use of the word 'grits', meaning coarse-pounded hominy [p. 22].

The Swedes of the Delaware region, Pennsylvania, used buckwheat and corn mixtures [Giles, 1940:318]. Peter Kalm described rye and corn loaves, baked in outdoor clay ovens (no stone being available) [Kerkkonen, 1959:211-2].

The French were not, as a rule, overly fond of corn, but they grew small white hominy and their slaves prepared of it 'couscoush'. It was eaten 'moistened with opossum broth and seasoned with salt and fine herbes' [Giles, 1940:111]. Of their cornbreads, on the St Lawrence, Nightingale describes corn chowders, evolved from the copper kettle, 'la chaudière'.

Amelia Simmons, credited with the first American cookbook (1796) innovatively listed 'johnny cake or hoe cake, Indian slapjack and a nice Indian pudding' [pp. 44-5, 57]. She was followed by Mary Randolph in Virginia, who also offered corn recipes, and so on increasingly into the century. In 1847 a Philadelphia book specialized in corn: The Indian Meal Book by Miss Eliza Leslie [Lowenstein, 1972:68].

As the succeeding frontiers moved west snd peopled new areas with those from the East, one can trace the movements in the recipes. For example, The First Texas Cookbook (1880s) repeats past English treasures from Cherokee Pudding to the same list of corn breads.

Processed corn began (actually it began much earlier with 'condensed corn', or pork, corn fed, and bourbon whiskey [Cummings, 1970:15-17].) The Shakers of New Lebanon built kilns and packaged Indian nokake in 1821 [Johnson, 1961:72].

Colonists had not substantially changed their table manners, nor their customary dining or work patterns. As opposed to the Indian informality, they observed three formal meals a day, families eating together. They prized imported tableware and fine furniture, although frontier style was closer to Indian handicrafting of wood, bone and clay. Apart from the frontier, where everybody worked at corn-raising, women did kitchen gardening, cooked on their indoor hearths and in (often) outdoor beehive ovens, following a division of labor by sex roles as they had in Europe. Pioneering encouraged individual self-reliance over communal interdependence. And perhaps they planted by the moon in Old World folk-patterns.

But surviving American folklore may indicate the heart of the new corn world. How about the Paul Bunyan tall tale about the summer it was so hot the popcorn all popped on the stalks, and the animals, thinking it was a blizzard, froze to death! Or Carl Sandburg's 'How to Tell the Corn Fairies when you See 'em' [Rootabaga Stories, 1922].

CONCLUSIONS

During the colonial period it was not European iron-age technology that saved the settlers, but rather what they took from 'primitive' Indian farm and foodways. New Indian corn became a way of life in field and kitchen. Once established, however, colonists resumed traditional patterns to varying degrees, producing a range of new foods that combined Indian and Old World recipes (especially cornbreads) and techniques (pit barbecues and clambakes). These formed a good part of emerging regional cuisines.

Corn also supported, directly and indirectly, colonial expansion and trade: domesticated animals for farm work or table (especially pigs and bourbon whiskey), the fur trade and fishing industries of the Northeast, the Southern plantation systems, and pioneering itself. Europeans had come

for gain and fueled it with corn.

Of course they made their gains at the expense of the lives and lands of native Americans, who did not wish to change. The Indians chose to use only minimal labor-saving accessories from European culture, preferring their own hoe methods of cultivating corn, beans and squash, and their own hunting and fishing activities. The involuntary changes they made were largely defensive; their adoption of the horse sped the move to nomadism, away from corn farming and culture, in many tribes.

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CHUÑO AND TUNTA

Dawn and Douglas Nelson

Both chuño and tunta are primitive South American methods of preparing potatoes to make them completely frost-proof and capable of almost indefinite storage. The process results in a weight loss in excess of half and this makes for portability of the tuber and even greater compression as tunta flour.

It might be challenged that these products are only marginally within the definition of 'The Migration of Foodstuffs and Cookery Techniques'; but as chuño was the entity which permitted the migration of the Inca tribe, taking with them the potato, it is a vital link in the migration of the potato as a staple food. The technique involved is not so much cookery as pre-cookery but without it the early use of potato flour would not have developed.

There are probably few other parts of the world where the method could so readily have developed more than 2000 years ago, as it is dependent on the climatic conditions in the foothills of the Andes and was almost certainly discovered accidentally. The essential features are that every autumn should have long periods of sub-zero temperatures at night followed by bright sunshine and drying winds during the day.

The freshly lifted potatoes are washed clean without damaging the skins and laid out on soft turf or straw padding to be exposed to severe night frost. As soon as they have thawed in the morning they are trodden with bare feet so that the skin remains intact but the fluid resulting from cell rupture is extruded. On the first pressing over 30% of the fluid may be lost. They are left in position and dried by the sun and the wind. The process is repeated for five successive days. From the sixth day onwards no further pressing takes place and they are straw-covered to a sufficient depth to prevent further freezing at night. Once dried they are as hard as stone and can be stored indefinitely, and even a minor degree of damp does not seem to damage them unduly. This product is called Chuño.

The more upmarket product is Tunta. The tubers are exposed to the frost in the same way as before and pressed, but during the day they are shielded from the sun and wind by straw covering and thus are not fully dried. On the sixth day they are placed in a shallow but largish pond and left for two months, and at the expiry of this period removed and sun-dried. The end product is Tunta, which is also called White Chuño or Moray. It looks similar to Chuño until it is cut, when a well-prepared sample should be pure white and readily breaks down to a small-grained white potato flour.

SPECIES

There still appears to be some confusion regarding potato species. The genus is Solanum and the edible tuber used in Europe is Solanum tuberosum. There are many edible and many poisonous species in the genus. There are two hardy species - Solanum ajanhuiri, which is diploid 2n=24, and Solanum juzepczukii with 2n=36. These tubers are insipid, with almost no detectable taste; they are culitvated high in the Andes and reserved for making Chuño.

* * * * *

DEMONSTRATION [at the Symposium]
These are examples of chuño and tunta made under completely artificial conditions in England. The potatoes are the common Solanum tuberosum and the end product appears to be the same whatever variety is used. The cultivated potato in this country has a much thinner skin than the wild one and as a result tears, though this seems to make little difference to the keeping quality as long as the potatoes are kept dry. Some of these are three years old.

They have been prepared by placing in a deep freeze overnight for tunta, with strong hand-squeezing each morning for five days; they were then suspended in a nylon string bag in a swimming pool for two months before being dried in the house. The chuño was left in the deep freeze until there was a sunny day - comment is superfluous.

USE
They are merely soaked in water and often then added to the native stew called Chupa. The tunta is used mostly in the form of white potato flour and makes most of the things we make from wheat flour. In 1904 Bandelier recorded that in local wars the Indians ate the brains of the wounded and the women soaked the chuño in their blood - we are not sure if this counts as a cookery technique.

Some evidence exists of chuño being made for over 2000 years and it is still used extensively today by the Peruvian Indians; it is regarded as essential to any journey. In the past it was accompanied by the commonest meat, which was Guinea Pig or Cuy. The Llama, which was and still is widely herded, is used as dried meat, but surprisingly the milk and its products are largely ignored. The Llama meat is sun-dried, when it becomes Charqui, from which the English word Jerked or Jerked meat is derived. The preparation is similar to the better-known South African Biltong. With water, charqui and chuño a nourishing stew is available for little weight carried - thus, for 20 lb. weight in a pack, over a month's rations are transported.

ADDITIONAL FOODS
Flour and porridge were also made from Quinoa (Chenopodium quinoa), an annual plant with small seeds which, when converted to flour, contain 38% protein. The plant Inca Wheat (Amaranthus caudatus) is also called quinoa and frequently confused with the former, but is not so useful. In addition to flour and porridge a useful beverage called Tschitscha is made from Chenopodium quinoa. Oca (Oxalis tuberosum) is another edible tuber and in Peru is sometimes freeze-dried like chuño.

Ullucus is a single-species genus with tubers similar to potatoes. It does not freeze-dry. Cultivation has failed in England, where it has been confused with Oca. Alstroemaria ligtu, which is grown as a garden flowering plant here, has large edible tubers and to add to the confusion is called Chuño de Concepcion.

THE INCA
The Inca started as a small tribe in Cuzco, which is a valley in South Central Peru. There are no written records available and most information is from folklore, records after the Pizarro expedition of 1533 and archaeological evidence. The last is principally in the form of pottery and sculpture. Much of the early pottery can be dated as prior to 500 AD and thus pre-Inca empire, and is in the form of potatoes and their chuño derivatives. The distribution demonstrates that there was active trade

between the coast and the altiplano of Bolivia a very long time ago. About 800 AD the migration of the Inca northwards began largely by religious motivation and they had a long, bitter struggle with the Chanka to the north and north-west.

By 1533 they had conquered as far north as North Ecuador, right down south to the lower third of Chile, and westwards to take in the whole of Peru, some of Bolivia and a lot of Argentina.

The Andes had always proved to be a major barrier to conquest, and chuño was a major factor in establishing mountain staging centres. The ability to store and carry food through severe cold allowed colonisation and the transport of seed and tubers through adverse regions. The spread of cultivation of the potato depended largely on the ability to feed on its chuño form.

The maintenance of a large empire needed rapid communications and this was achieved by human runners. Their roads can still be traced through a number of rest houses from Quito in North Ecuador down to North Argentina. The passages over high mountains are marked by steps hewn in the faces of sheer precipices. This network depended on large stores of chuño in the rest houses.

THE SILVER MINES

After the Spanish conquest, the Potosi silver mines were discovered in South Central Bolivia. At over 13,500 feet this is one of the highest towns in the world. In 1611 it had a population of 160,000, consisting almost entirely of slave labour. Accessible at this height by only the roughest mountain roads, feeding the workers was a problem. Middlemen arrived from Spain who imported chuño in vast quantities by animal and human transport for the slaves, and many made enormous fortunes in a very short time. Hans Sloane reported the same method in 1693 to be widely used in Peru and other areas.

Since the fall of the Inca empire to the Spaniards, chuño has often come to the rescue, even on the Pacific Coast in time of famine, and has been used as a basic ration in war.

The desperate plight of the Irish in the great famines of 1846-48 might have been averted if a similar product had been available. In the British Isles suitable conditons seldom occur and certainly in Ireland the possibility of five nights' hard frost followed by five days' sunshine would be exceptional. It might occur in parts of Scotland, but the necessity there for freeze-drying has seldom arisen.

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POTATO RECIPES IN HOLLAND FROM 1600 UNTIL 1850

J. Witteveen

Not much has been written on the uses and preparation of the potato in history. There is an extensive and interesting study by Salaman [1], which gives a detailed account of the introduction of the potato in Europe but then restricts itself to the consumption in the British Isles.

The potato as an agricultural product and its influence on population increase in the Low Countries, chiefly present-day Belgium, during the 17th and 18th centuries, has been discussed by Vandenbroeke [2] and Morineau[3]. Vandenbroeke's findings show that about 1650, around Tielt in Flanders, the potato was established as a field crop, not confined to private gardens. Around 1670 cultivation increased in Western Flanders and gradually spread to the whole province.[4] In 1697 it reached the Dutch part of Flanders (belonging to the province of Zeeland); between 1731 Utrecht; and in 1746 Overijssel.[5] Slowly but surely the potato captured the northernmost part of the Netherlands as well. The Frisian historian Foeke Sjoerds (1713-1770) noted in 1765 that some 30 years ago, i.e. around 1735, the potato was virtually unknown in Friesland. It had been brought there from Gelderland and Zeeland and was now an important crop, creating labour on a large scale. The potato had become so widespread that there were few families left to whom it was not daily nourishment. The Frisian potatoes were not as delicate and tasty as those from Zeeland, which were however hard to find in Friesland because the authorities levied duties on imported potatoes.[6] To this day, the potato continues to be a major crop and article of export in Friesland.

The first Frisian potato was cultivated in 1736 or 1737 at Herema House, Joure, by Johan Vegelin van Claerbergen, chief dignitary at the court of the Frisian Stadtholder Willem Carel Hendrik Friso, Prince of Orange, who became Stadholder of the United Provinces in 1747 as William IV. Vegelin gave his cultivated plants to friends and eventually they came into possession of Johann Hermann Knoop, gardener to William's mother, Maria Louise of Hesse-Cassel (1688-1765). Knoop further cultivated and propagated them. Potatoes were first served on 13 December 1742 at a banquet given by Maria Louise when her son visited Friesland with his wife Princess Anne (daughter of King George II).[7]

During the 18th century, the potato spread from the south-west to the north, the expansion being at its most vigorous in the second half of the century. This was due to economic factors as well as natural disasters, in agriculture often strongly linked together. There was the harsh winter of 1740, causing high prices and famine all over Europe; the sharp rise of wheat prices in the latter half of the century in the Netherlands as in the rest of Europe; and rinderpest, catastrophic in the years 1744/45 and 1769/71. The rinderpest had sent up meat prices, and milk and cheese grew scarce, so that a nutritional substitute was called for. Farmers took advantage of the fact that potatoes yielded a larger profit per acre than wheat, even in good years.

These circumstances forced the lower classes to feed themselves with potatoes rather than with bread. Employers providing food for their servants, a common practice in those days, changed to the more economical potato too.[8] The upper classes, however, continued to reject the potato as a daily food. Not until the Napoleonic Wars or even later, amid general impoverishment in the Netherlands, did they turn to it for everyday use.

HOW WAS THE POTATO PREPARED IN THE 16th-17th CENTURIES?

In 1588 Carolus Clusius (1526-1609), one of the leading botanists of his day, first received potatoes, probably from Italy.[9] He grew them in his own garden in Vienna (1588), then in Franfurt a/Main (1589-1594) and finally in the Botanical Garden of the recently founded University at Leyden, where he held a professorship from 1594 until his death. He presented as many colleagues as possible with potatoes in order to make them more widely known.[10] Clusius knew they had arrived from South America, and that they formed there a major source of food, eaten fresh as well as dried. He christened them Pappas peruanorum after their native name and land of origin.[11]

Obviously, one may assume that potatoes were prepared just like similar vegetables. Around 1600, there were two ways of consuming vegetables: at the start of the meal, cold, as salad; or at the end of the meal, hot, as a stew. Both raw and cooked vegetables could go into a salad. The salad was dressed with oil and vinegar, the stewing was done in butter.[12] Contemporary cooking manuals, those by Vorsterman and Battus[13], do not contain recipes for vegetables. Vorsterman has a few for salads, taken from Platina like most of his recipes. In Battus figure only cauliflower and Savoy cabbage, both new to these parts. Vegetables were not dealt with in the manuals because every cook knew how to prepare them. No special sauces were lavished on them, as on meat and fish. Their order on the menu determined whether oil or vinegar or butter was needed in their preparation.

Writing on 20 February 1597 to the Nuremberg physician and botanist Joachim Camerarius, to whom he had sent potatoes, Clusius said that he often ate his potatoes mixed with turnips.[14] He gives the recipe in the volume that contains his first description of the potato (1601). Clusius peeled the potato, boiled it between two dishes and then stewed it in a rich sauce with turnips or swedes.[15] Another recipe for potatoes is found in the 1618 edition of the Dodonaeus Herbal.[16] Dodonaeus, a predecessor of Clusius at the University of Leyden, was equally one of the century's important botanists. The potato is still called Pappas peruanorum or Pappas americanorum. The recipe goes as follows:

> Pappas
> The roots of this plant, roasted like chestnuts or well cooked like carrots or parsnips, are profitably eaten by the weak and the infirm to give them strength: for they nourish as well and plentiful as parsnips and are windy and therefore highly suitable for making intercourse more pleasurable. The same boiled and deprived of their outer skin, drained somewhat and then stewed between two dishes in mutton broth or just in butter, are as tasty as turnips.[17]

Evidently, the potato was prepared in the same way as tubers and roots already known, as the reference to turnips indicates. Sixteenth and 17th century botanists were also physicians, which is why in their herbals they described the medicinal properties of plants. One such could be nutritiveness, and whether a plant would contribute to physical well-being when eaten. Indeed, we are always told if eating a plant causes flatulence. It was thought that windiness encouraged lust, an advantage in those days of high infant and maternity mortality.[18] Flatulence, then, was no drawback for foodstuffs but an asset. O tempora o mores!

Another way of preparing potatoes was to boil them and to pour a spicy

sauce over them, as shown by various artichoke recipes of the period. A recipe of this kind is given in 1696 by the botanist and professor at Groningen, Munting[19], extracting it from a 1631 publication[20].

> The spherical roots of Solanum tuberosum esculentum or Pappas peruanorum, Nightshade with edible bulbous root, used for food with a good sauce like those put on Artichokes, are quite wholesome to any person, particularly aged men, sustain the stomach, and the whole body; produce good blood, and stir the appetite for proper (i.e., conjugal) endeavour.

The Sensible Cook (1668) gave these recipes for sauces to go with artichokes:

> Various ways of stewing artichokes after they have been boiled until well done.
>
> Take some vinegar and clean water, butter and crushed pepper, nutmeg and a little bit of crushed rusk and sugar, allow this to stew together for some time.
>
> Another way.
>
> After boiling artichokes until well-done, take a shallow pot, put in some mutton broth with a dash of hock, pepper, mace, nutmeg, some crumbled rusk, a little salt and butter, and put it on to stew with the artichokes.
>
> They may also be stewed with crumbs of white bread soaked in white wine, mashed, then put in a little vinegar and sufficient sugar, cinnamon, nutmeg, pepper, and butter.
>
> Artichokes when well-done are also eaten with a sauce of butter and vinegar and pepper or oil; and vinegar, pepper and salt for a salad.[21]

The potato's major rival was the Jerusalem artichoke. The tuber of this plant tastes somewhat like an artichoke; thus it was called 'artichoke under the ground' by Petrus Hondius, who was the first in Holland to grow this plant of Canadian origin. Petrus Hondius (c.1578-1621) was a minister at Terneuzen (Dutch Flanders) from 1604 until his death. He had studied divinity at Leyden, probably also taking lessons from Clusius at the Botanical Garden. In Terneuzen, he planted a garden that became well-known in a short time for the rare plants that he grew there. One of these was the artichoke under the ground. At a later stage,it was cultivated elsewhere in the province of Zeeland, and shipped to London. It has even been suggested that the name Jerusalem artichoke might be a corruption of 'Terneuzen Artichoke'.[22] Of course, Hondius also grew potatoes, but he found the taste 'too meagre' and changed over to Jerusalem artichokes.[23] According to the editor of the 1618 Dodonaeus Herbal, 'in our tongue they are known as Terneuzen Artichoke Apples', and they come from 'the French Indies which are called Canada'. He continues:

> In Zeeland they are widely consumed from the middle of November onwards (for then they can be dug up easily) until Easter. They may be boiled, rolled in flour, fried in butter, or baked in a pan, and sprinkled with sugar like skirrets; or after being baked between two dishes or else stewed in butter or oil, eat with pepper and ginger, mace or other spices like cinnamon and powdered cloves; or with a sauce of butter and vinegar.[24]

Recipes for potatoes and Jerusalem artichokes bear a close resemblance, as do the tubers themselves. Still, Hondius and others preferred the Jerusalem artichoke because its somewhat more pronounced taste made it more suitable for serving as a separate dish. The potato seemed to pass out of sight. At Antwerp, Frans van Sterbeeck still grew them in his garden from 1660 to 1664, but there too they disappeared through lack of interest.[25] Only Munting provides a description of the potato, originally without a recipe [26], which a later editor adds, however, from an early source[27]. None of the numerous herbals and gardening books from the second half of the aeventeenth century mention the potato, nor do the cooking manuals.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although records are scarce, they show that halfway through the 18th century potatoes were grown in all the United Provinces. In 1745, potatoes had been on aale for some time at the Amsterdam vegetable-market. A resident of the Jewish quarter in Amaterdam in his chronicle of that year noted a hard frost lasting from 5 January to 15 February. The cold spell continued until summer, late summer was hot. Food prices were low, including meat; potatoes however were expensive.[28]

For the whole of the same year, 1745, an Amsterdam merchant noted down the contents of the family meals.[29] That year they had potatoes 22 times, of which 4 in January, one each in March, April, August and September, 7 in October, 4 in November and 3 in December. Moreover, in December they had Jerusalem artichokes 3 times. Fifteen times out of 22, potatoes were eaten together with turnips; by themselves, seven times only.

Interestingly, potatoes had no fixed place on the menu as yet. Five times they they were eaten at the start of the meal, always with turnips. Twice they figured at the end, as a vegetable (once with turnips). Forming the main course or the entire meal, they were taken with haddock 9 times, of which 4 together with turnips, and with stockfish once. Twice, with turnips, they accompany cold meat, and once, during the November slaughtering, marrow bones. On two days, it is not clear how they were eaten.

The first potato recipes we encounter in the eighteenth century are quoted by Johann Hermann Knoop, of Leeuwarden. (He it was who first served potatoes to William IV on the occasion of his visit to his mother Maria Louise in 1742. Knoop's father was gardener to the Court at Hesse-Cassel. Maria Louise knew Knoop from her early years at Cassel where he worked in the renowned Schlossgarten under his father. She had invited him to become chief gardener at her estate Mariënburg in Leeuwarden.[30]) Knoop's recipes were intended for the 'civil bourgeois table'. Those of higher rank are referred to 'the cooking manual in French by Mr Vincent [la Chapelle], the late Chef de Cuisine of the Prince of Orange', William IV.[31] The potato recipes are as follows:

1. Cooked in water until done, with butter and mustard.
2. With a little powdered marjoram, pepper, cloves and salt, cooked in ample liquid until soft, the delicious Frisian butter not to be left out.
3. They are also very tasty with haddock.
4. They can also be made into delicious pies according to the rules of cookery.[32]

Potato recipes remained few. They featured in none of the period's cookery books, aimed at the middle class, such as The Perfect Dutch Cook

(1746), The Perfect Utrecht Cook (1754), and The Perfect Guelders Cook (1756). The first of this series of books to contain one was a cheap condensed edition of The Perfect Dutch Cook (1758).[33] The recipe has a 16th century flavour:

> Place them among embers, cook them in some water, wine and pepper, peel them, and stew them in olive oil, or fry them as you wish, serve them with bread soaked in wine with sugar, or with butter and sugar as you wish.

In 1752, Knoop had published The Concise Domestic Gardener. During the 1760s an enlarged edition was issued in four large volumes with hand-coloured plates to the first two volumes. The last volume, a description of the vegetable and kitchen garden, appeared in 1769.[34] Knoop described at length each plant, the method of cultivation, the way to prepare it and its medicinal properties, completely in accordance with the early 17th century authors. Of course, with the potato windiness and sexual stimulation got their mention. By 1769, as we have seen, the potato had become a daily food among the populace of Friesland, and no doubt other parts of the country too. We may assume that Knoop's recipes of that year reflected common every day practice.

1. Peel and cook (in water) until half-done, add butter, salt, and a little crushed pepper and mace, and continue until done. Serve with stock.
   Instead of, or in addition to mace, put in some powdered dried marjoram for fragrance.
   For easy peeling, cook the potatoes until half-done, allow them to cool, take off the skin, then continue as before.
2. Rather than water, use stock for cooking. Proceed as before.
3. When done, serve with beef, mutton or lamb.
4. Cook with any of these, but put them in with the meat only when it is nearly done or else the potatoes will be reduced to mash.
5. Cook potatoes with turnips.
6. Cook potatoes until half-done, cut into slices, coat with flour, and fry in butter.
7. Cook potatoes with a sauce of butter, vinegar, pepper, and mace.
8. Potatoes with fried bacon and onions.
9. The common people cook potatoes with salt until done and have them with a little sauce of butter and mustard. They are tasty that way.
10. At many a table they will often accompany haddock, when they are eaten with either a butter sauce and chopped parsley or a mustard sauce. This dish is held in high esteem and many people will not have haddock unless they get potatoes with it.
11. Stockfish is treated the same way.
12. Before potatoes became wide-spread, people of rank would use them for pies; these days they do not value them any more, except to go with haddock. They are now the food of the common man who 'will use them very often, because they can get them cheaply, indeed they are for many needy people in winter bread and side-dish as well'.[35]

On close inspection, these methods of preparing potatoes partly correspond

with those from the early 17th century. We can divide them into:

a. Stewing with butter and spices. (Recipe 1)
Hondius in 1621 also stewed his vegetables in butter. However, he did not use spices, because he would have had to buy them. It was his principle only to use for food what his own garden provided. For this reason the book in which he describes his garden and his meals was given the title Dapes inemptae', meaning 'Victuals that were not bought'.[36] Seasoning a dish was common practice in Hondius' time.

b. Stewing with stock. (Recipes 2, 3, 4)
Cooking and stewing mostly meat or fish in stock is already mentioned by the earliest Dutch cookery books.
The Sensible Cook (1668) stews vegetables in stock too, usually the cooking liquid of mutton.

c. Cooking with other vegetables. (Recipes 5 & 8)
In 1601, Clusius had already supplied a recipe for potatoes and turnips.[37] In 1745, the Amsterdam merchant ate his potatoes in most cases with turnips.
The Frisian Cook (1772) stewed potatoes with onions in cream and butter and seasoned with nutmeg, pepper and salt.[38]

d. Adding a seasoned sauce. (Recipes 7, 9, 10, 11)
This method is similar to the way the artichoke was prepared in the 17th century. Munting has a potato recipe with reference to sauces for artichokes.[39]

e. Cooking, then slicing and frying the slices in butter (Recipe 6)
As we have seen, in the 17th century potatoes and Jerusalem artichokes were prepared in the same manner. The 1618 Dodonaeus Herbal contains a recipe for frying the tubers of the Jerusalem artichokes, cut into slices: they are rolled in flour and fried in butter. The recipe stated that this treatment was the same as the one in use for skirrets, thus referring to a well-known recipe.[40] (The skirret has become obsolete in the Netherlands, and is now extinct there, while it barely survives in England and France.)

There is a different way of examining Knoop's list of recipes, with regard to the place on the menu of the potato dish. From Hondius' description of meals we know that his menus consisted of three courses:

1. Salad
2. Meat or Fish
3. Vegetables stewed in butter, sometimes replaced by farinaceous food.

With the Amsterdam merchant in 1745 we find the same three-course arrangement. Bread accompanies all three courses, as is still usual in France to this day. Potatoes when eaten with meat or fish, as a second course, take the place of bread. (Recipes 3, 4, 8, 10, 11)

Stewed in butter or stock, potatoes make up the third course. (Recipes 1, 2, 6, 7, 9)

A mixture of turnips and potatoes may be served as either first or second course, as is shown by the merchant's notes. From Knoop we learn that in 1769 the upper class consumed potatoes rarely if ever. The middle class ate them at times, as a vegetable, and sometimes as a substitute for bread, preferably with haddock. For the common people, they were daily food replacing bread.

In the years 1770-1771, grain prices were high again and rinderpest raged once more, causing a scarcity of dairy products. Common lower-class foods like milk or buttermilk cooked with flour were replaced by potatoes. Food shortages are evidenced by the Frisian authorities prohibiting the export of potatoes in 1770 and rye and buckwheat in 1772. The ban was lifted in 1773.[42] At this time the first publication on the potato, its cultivation and utility saw the light: J.A.J. Ludwig: Treatise on the nature, propagation and benefits of the useful Potato. Translated from the High German by Cornelius Pareboom MD. Hoorn & Amsterdam, 1772.[43] The little volume was quite successful and had to be reprinted three times within a couple of years. It addressed itself to the well-to-do who ought to eat potatoes as a vegetable, not as a substitute for bread. (Ludwig, however, urged that bread itself should not be made from wheat but from potatoes: see below.)

> Vegetables are only made agreeable by a correct method of preparation and with pot-herbs, or else they are but half as agreeable. Artichokes, cauliflower and such, cooked as they are, straight from the fields, with just salt will not taste good. Potatoes need only a little salt, and eaten with a nice sauce should yield to no vegetable.[44]

Potatoes could be had from September to May, unlike many other vegetables that were only briefly in season, so:

> If you relish that which is expensive, and prefer a salad out of season to one in summer, and believe that rare means wholesome, then bar potatoes, these mean, lowly, crude, humble, cheap, and common potatoes from your kitchen, and do not believe they can be made to taste as good as any other vegetable.[45]

Ludwig's recipes start with baking bread from potato-flour.[46] During the second half of the 18th century, a lot of effort went into finding a replacement for the ever more expensive wheat bread, including attempts to bake bread from potato-flour. The government of Parma and Piacenza in view of high grain prices ordered the translation of a French publication that would teach its subjects how to bake bread from potatoes.[47] Parmentier, who encouraged the cultivation of potatoes in France, essentially had the same purpose in mind. (He knew the milling business, and in 1777 published Le parfait Boulanger.)[48]

According to Ludwig, the potatoes that were going to be eaten as a vegetable would be sorted for similar size, rinsed, and cooked until done in a little water. When done and peeled after cooling down they might be:

1.a. sprinkled with spices like salt, pepper, ginger, mustard.
   b. sprinkled with finely chopped herbs like horse-radish, onion, garlic, rocambole, sage, parsley, marjoram, savory, etc.; or sometimes with grated black radish with sugar and vinegar.
   c. topped with melted butter or fat, or perhaps vinegar or stock.
   d. accompanied by a thickened sauce of stock, flour and marjoram; for a tart sauce, it should be stock, flour, fried onion, and vinegar.
2. Also, the potato would be cooked with meat and served at the same time; or served with fish, deep-fried bacon, or cabbage or other vegetables.

3. With a salad, instead of eggs.
4. They might be cooked until done, then stewed in the cooking liquid, or in stock or milk. Salt, pepper and butter would add flavour. They might be seasoned further with onion, sage, parsley etc.
5. Seasoned stock might be thickened with potatoes reduced to mash; this would do on a slice of bread.

Instead of being cooked in the usual way, the potatoes could be baked.

6. Take middle-sized potatoes, rinse them and dry well. Leave them to bake in a pan. As soon as they start bursting, take them out and put them in a lidded dish. The steam from the potatoes will soften the skin and allow it to peel off quickly. These potatoes have a more pleasant and sweeter taste than ones cooked in water, but they are not as easy to digest.
7. Roast potatoes on a spit next to a low fire. Sprinkle with butter from time to time.
8. Cut large peeled potatoes into slices, sprinkle with salt and put in a hot baking pan. They will rise like cakes. When they are done, spread with fresh butter.
9. Stuff a goose or duck with potatoes.

Potato pastry was another way of using potatoes.

10. Potato pancakes are made from sliced cooking potatoes. Sprinkle with pepper and ginger, or marjoram, or garlic if you have a taste for it, and bake in hot fat.
11. Potato soufflé. Mash cooked potatoes and stir with as many eggs, add salt and spices and bake on hot coals. 'It rises high and is a delicacy when hot.'
12. Potato cakes are made from cold cooked and mashed potatoes, wheat or barley flour and water or milk. Mix, add some salt and stir in eggs. With a ladle make up into cakes and bake in a hot pan or under a copper lid containing embers. When they are done, serve with butter and eat them hot.
13. Not only bread, but also tarts can be baked from potato flour and eggs.

As an extra, the author supplies a number of recipes 'for the poor in times of dearth', drawn from the English Gentleman's Magazine of 1758.[49]

Comparing Ludwig's recipes with Knoop's, we notice that those for cooked potatoes are very similar, except that Ludwig used a greater variety of herbs and spices, while the Dutch had a preference for mace, which is not mentioned by Ludwig.

The recipes for dry baking and turning potatoes into bread or pastry originated from southern Germany [50] and were new to the Netherlands. Whether they would gain a permanent foothold remained to be seen.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The closing years of the 18th century were years of economic decline and massive political change. In December 1794, French troops entered the United Provinces and by the end of the next month they controlled the whole country. The old federative Republic had ceased to exist. The new, unitary Batavian Republic was a vassal state of France, which demanded huge reparations. The West and East India Companies collapsed. The war with Britain and the Continental System killed Dutch trade.

Around this time the New National Art of Cookery appeared (1794).[51] It was a manual aimed at the well-to-do, very much 18th century and at the same time very Dutch: frugal and solid, but also 'enriched with new recipes according to current tastes'. To this category belonged the recipes for potatoes. They were the following:

1. Stewed potatoes.
   Cook the potatoes in salted water until half-done, and drain; add broth, butter and pepper and allow them to simmer until done.
   For browning the potatoes, add gravy instead of broth. Pepper may be left out.[52]
2. Baked potatoes.
   Cook the potatoes until half-done; melt butter in a baking pan, put in the potatoes and bake them until yellow. For an even colour, turn them over now and then.[53]
3. Potato Salad.
   Cut cooked potatoes into slices and mix with sliced onions; put butter to the boil with pepper and salt, add vinegar and pour over the potatoes. Instead of butter, olive oil may be used.[54]
4. Turnips with potatoes.
   Cut the turnips into pieces the size of a finger-joint and cook them in rainwater until done. Make a sauce of butter, flour, nutmeg, salt, a little sugar, and broth or cooking liquid from the turnips. Stew the turnips in this mixture together with the half-done potatoes.[55]

So far, these recipes are variants of those we know from Knoop and Ludwig, even if the stewed potatoes are much less seasoned with herbs and spices, or not at all. Also, vegetables now are not stewed in butter only, but in a roux of butter and flour, frequently seasoned with nutmeg.[56] (Nowadays, many vegetables are still seasoned with nutmeg.)

The New National Art of Cookery also contained the earliest recipe for what is regarded as one of the classical Dutch dishes:

5. Hotchpotch of carrots and potatoes.
   The potatoes should not be quite done when they are added to the carrots, which are well scraped and rinsed, and have been cooked in rainwater until soft; add a fair lump of butter, chopped parsley, pepper and salt to taste; those who are partial to onions add them, chopped fine and fried in butter. Allow all this to simmer until done.
   This type of hotchpotch is served with pieces of thin flank the size of a hand; they should have been salted for two days,

and simply cooked until done. When serving, the meat is not put on top of the carrots, but brought on a separate dish.[57]

A variant that did not obtain the status of a classic was:

6. Hotchpotch of carrots.
   Cook the carrots. Make a sauce of the cooking liquid with flour and butter, adding pepper and salt liberally. Chop onions not too finely, fry them in butter and add to the sauce. Put the carrots in the sauce and allow them to simmer. 'Some people put in nearly-done potatoes as well. There are some who will stew cut-up pickled meat in it, too.'[58]

An early version of what is nowadays a typical winter dish was:

7. Sour-crout.
   Cook the cabbage in a basin or casserole with sufficient rain-water until done; as it is put on the fire, a large piece of beef should be added, and when it is almost cooked, a fair amount of butter, in which it is allowed to stew for a little while.
   Frequently, cooked potatoes are put into the stew for a very tasty addition.[59]

A rather different utilization of the potato was:

8. Potato pudding.
   Take large potatoes which, having been peeled carefully, are grated very finely; add to the gratings 3 egg yolks, a lump of butter, lemon-soaked sugar, pounded cinnamon, and a little salt. Stir on the fire until the butter has melted; next take the whites of 4 eggs, whisk until stiff and stir into the batter; when it is cold, coat the mould with dough, put in the batter, bake for an hour and a half, then it will be thoroughly cooked. The aforementioned batter may also be baked leaving out the crust, in which case the mould should be coated with butter and crumbled rusk, before putting in the batter.
   This pudding is served with a cream sauce.[60]

These recipes show that the well-to-do had accepted the potato, and that it figured on the menu in several ways. In the first course, it could be taken as salad (Recipe 3); in the last course, of butter-stewed vegetables, it could be eaten by itself or mixed with other vegetables (Recipes 1, 2, 4, 7). For the meat course in between, a new type of dish developed, a combination of meat, vegetables and potatoes (Recipes 5 and 6). The evolution of this new dish was documented by Aaltje, the Perfect and Economical Cook (1803).[61] This manual was highly successful, going through numerous revised and enlarged editions. Aaltje contains the same potato recipes as the New National Art of Cookery, augmented by several recipes in the new style:

1. Sour-crout and potatoes with smoked bacon and sausage.
2. Kale and potatoes with sausage.
3. Sweet apples and potatoes with smoked bacon.
4. Stewed pears and potatoes with smoked bacon.[62]

These dishes, as well as the Hotchpotch of carrots and potatoes with thin flank (no. 5 on the preceding list) still belong to the Dutch standard

repertory of winter dishes. They are eaten at home in the family circle, rather than in a restaurant, and are regarded as traditional dishes, 'typical Dutch'. Forgotten are the origins of these dishes, in a climate of political and economic unrest resulting in general impoverishment and changing eating habits.

Obviously we may assume that the evolution of the new habits did not stop at the abovementioned 'national' dishes, comprising potatoes, meat and vegetables in a fixed combination. The next step was to vary the meat and the vegetable. The original second and third courses of the menu were now combined into a second course designated the main dish. The third course, previously consisting of butter-stewed vegetables, or alternatively farinaceous food [63], now mainly comprised farinaceous or milk-food only. The first course remained a salad; or this was replaced by soup, including potato soup.[64] The three components of the main dish were each prepared separately and each had its own recipes. Only at the table were they joined on the plates.

In the manuals published after the 1803 Aaltje, this evolution was not reflected by the recipes and did not find mention. That it did take place, and also that the well-to-do had adopted the new habit and took it for granted, is evident from the menu directions first appearing in the third edition of Maria Haezebroek's The Art of Modern Cookery, adapted by the late King William I's chief cook. In the specimen menus for festive occasions, the principal meat, usually beef, is always served with potatoes and vegetables. The lesser meats, such as veal, lamb or venison, were to be eaten with vegetables only. In one example, potatoes were even served twice: with the fish, and again with beef.[65]

In the early years of the 19th century the potato as a component of the main dish was prepared as follows:

1. The potatoes were cooked together with meat and vegetables, as in the 'national' dishes. (See Appendix.)
2. The potatoes were cooked until nearly done, then stewed with well-cooked vegetables in butter and broth, as in
   Hotchpotch of carrots and potatoes [66]
   Turnips with potatoes
   Savoy cabbage with potatoes [67]
3. Meat, vegetables and potatoes were each prepared separately and only put together on the plates, at table.
   Separately, the potato might be prepared by means of:
   a. peeling and cooking in salted water until done.
      In Dutch recipes, the potato was always peeled first, in contrast to Ludwig's German recipes (1772) where it was peeled after cooking until done.[68]
   b. cooking until nearly done, then stewing in a broth and butter or a gravy of browned butter.[69]
   c. cooking, then frying slices in butter.
      This recipe only occurs in the first edition of Aaltje (1803) [70]; in later editions it has been removed.

The French, too, preferred peeling the potato after cooking, because it preserved the flavour better. They knew still other methods for cooking potatoes: steaming until done before peeling, and the Flemish way of heating unpeeled potatoes without water in a well-closed pan on a gentle fire until done. The pan had to be shaken regularly to keep the potatoes from sticking and burning.[71] A variant of this recipe can be found in

the Appendix of the 4th edition of Aaltje (c. 1820) [72]:

> An appetizing way of preparing potatoes.
> After peeling and rinsing properly, allow the potatoes to drain in a strainer until quite dry; put them in an iron pot, without any liquid, but sprinkling on a little salt meanwhile, and close the lid quite tight with pliable paper, or rather pieces of rag; next, leave the pot for half an hour on a really hot fire (for a longer or shorter period depending on a larger or smaller amount of potatoes), and you will find the potatoes to be very tasty, chiefly on account of their crumbliness. Adding a little unmelted butter, as with chestnuts, renders them much more agreeable.

These appetizing potatoes could be made even more tasty by preparing them with sausages or mince.

> An appetizing way of preparing potatoes, with sausages.
> Cook the sausages beforehand very briefly; proceed with the potatoes as aforementioned, but this time put some small sausages on top of them, then potatoes again (with some salt, as stated), and more sausages on top of that, and so on while your stock lasts, provided it is shared out in such manner that the potatoes end up on top; add a knob of butter as well. By the time this has cooked until done, in a pot closed off as stated, on a hot fire, you will have an appetizing food.[73]

> An appetizing way of preparing potatoes, with minced beef.
> Form well-prepared mince into balls the size of a medium potato; cook them beforehand briefly, a bit longer than the aforementioned sausages, next put them, in the same way as described for the sausages, between the potatoes, again sprinkling on a little salt meanwhile; poutr the cooking-liquid of the meat-balls over the potatoes; close the pot tight once more, and allow all this to cook until done on a really hot fire (it need not be a coal fire).[74]

Besides the ordinary cooked potato in the main dish, more complicated potato dishes came into being. They were prepared in the manner of the potato pudding and tart. The basis of these dishes was mashed cooked potatoes, mixed with butter and eggs, and baked like a cake. For a good result, cakes have to receive heat from above as well as from underneath, and this was best accomplished by an oven. But since most houses lacked an oven in those days, and the detached stove with built-in oven still had to be invented, cakes were baked in a pan which was put on a gridiron or on a tripod over a fire. The pan would be covered with a lid that could contain embers, so that the heat would reach the cake both ways. The heat from the lid should exceed that from underneath for the top of the cake to turn a nice deep colour.

A simple way to bake potatoes was:

> Potatoes in oyster shells.
> Mash potatoes, well cooked with enough salt, mix with butter and pepper and put the dough in the shells; these are put in a copper kettle, the lid containing hot coals in order to get brown crusts, while underneath there should be just enough heat to keep the dish warm.[75]

A more complicated recipe:

> Potatoes in little moulds.
> Put well-cooked potatoes in a sieve to drain; mash them and add per pound five ounces of butter, over half an ounce of sugar, six whisked eggs and a small cup of sweet milk; beat the mixture until blended, put into little moulds and bake in a cake pan until ready.[76]

An example of baking in a large mould follows:

> Take eight large potatoes, have them cleaned and cooked until quite done; next, peel and mash them, whisk four eggs with some milk, pepper, mace, and a cup of melted butter, and beat the mixture until blended. Put the batter in a dish, coated with butter and crumbled rusks, and sprinkle butter and crumbled rusks on top; cover the dish with a lid containing sufficient hot coals, and allow to simmer for a little under half and hour.
> Left-over potatoes may be utilized as well.[77]

Boiled potatoes were also used for sweet desserts like pudding and tarts. These dishes were cherished as the third course of a festive menu in the 18th and the first part of the 19th centuries.[78] They would double as table decorations during the first and second courses. The pudding would be baked or cooked in a handsome copper or earthenware mould [79]; the plain shape of the tart would be decorated by ornaments cut into the crust before baking.[80] Usually bread crumbs or rice flour would be the binding agent in a pudding, but sometimes potatoes were used instead. (A recipe for this potato pudding has been given above, p. 50, no. 8.)

For tarts, which were baked from flour as a rule, cooked potato was sometimes made use of instead. While tarts were made from freshly-cooked potatoes, puddings required poatoes cooked the day before.[81] This way, leftovers could rendered palatable. The pudding would be flavoured with grated orange peel and candied peel.[82] For the tart, currants were used in addition.[83] Another possibility was flavouring with grated lemon rind and cinnamon.[84]

> Potato cake.
> Peel and cook ten to twelve potatoes until done, and grate them fine. Add two ounces of butter, six egg-yolks, grated lemon-rind, and sugar; stir well. The egg-whites are then beaten stiff and folded in; next, put the batter in a buttered cake pan or mould, and bake in moderate heat until ready.[85]

The recipes indicate that by about 1830 the potato had been accepted by the upper classes, and had become a stock component of the daily hot meal with them, too. They had also adopted the new-type three-course menu for the main meal. This has not changed up to the present, applying to all classes. The recipes have also remained basically the same, although the potato pudding and the tart were dropped. Of course, during the 19th century many recipes were added, i.a. via French cuisine, while the development of coal- and then gas-fired cooking-stoves contributed new possibilities.

Something left unspecified by the cookery books is the variety of potato to be used for a particular purpose; does the recipe require a floury potato, or one that remains whole, etc. There is no information on the

flavour either, except for one recipe in Maria Haezebroek's The Art of Modern Cookery (1848):

> An improved manner of cooking potatoes.
> Commonly, our potatoes after cooking still possess an astringency both unpleasant and unwholesome. To remove it, bring the water to the boil, then pour away this water, which has absorbed all acerbic parts, and continue cooking the potatoes in water freshly poured on. This way, they will prove to be more tasty and wholesome.[86]

Mustel [87], mayor of Bernay in Normandy, had already remarked in 1767 in his treatise on the potato: 'The poor eat them from necessity, the rich do so for their taste.'[88]

APPENDIX

From: Aaltje, de Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid, Amsterdam, 1803.

SOUR-CROUT STEWED (p. 196)
Cook the cabbage in some water with a lump of butter until almost dry; then put in another lump of butter, allowing it to melt down while stirring the cabbage all the time: potatoes can be stewed with it, and also smoked bacon or sausage: most people after taking sour-crout from the crock first rinse it in cold water; if this has taken away too much of its tartness, this can be remedied with a dash of vinegar.

KALE (p. 197)
Rinse and clean the cabbage properly, and cook in rain-water until done; allow to drain in a strainer, and chop fine, which is not necessary but may be done at discretion: then put carefully peeled or scraped potatoes in a casserole or pan, put a piece of smoked bacon of required size on top: now put the chopped-up kale in the casserole, and add lard; leave to simmer until ready, stirring at intervals; but do not forget to add some water.

SWEET APPLES WITH POTATOES (p. 160)
Take, say, 4 Dutch cups of sweet apples, cut them into quarters and remove the cores; put them in an earthenware vessel, with sugar and butter to taste: take 4 Dutch cups of first-grade potatoes, peel these too, then put on top 5 ounces, or any amount you like, of smoked bacon, and leave to cook together until done, shaking every now and again: when done, dish up together. - This is good plain fare from Gelderland.[89]

STEWED PEARS WITH POTATOES (p. 169)
Take 4 Dutch cups of choice French sugar pears, and 4 Dutch cups of best quality potatoes, not too large: peel or scrape the latter, leaving the pears unpeeled, however; these must be rinsed carefully, and cut into quarters, removing the cores: take 2½ ounces of streaky smoked bacon: place in an earthenware vessel, and put on top the potatoes and the pears, with a little water, and also butter and sugar to taste; close the vessel carefully and put on the fire, shaking at times. When done, the bacon is taken out, and served on top of the stewed pears and potatoes.

N.B. 1 Dutch cup = dry measure of 1 litre; 1 ounce = 100 grammes.

English translation by H G Liebentrau

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40. p. 1476. Skirret (Sium sisarum, L.) is in Dutch 'Suikerwortel'.
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53. Ibid., p. 175.
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Potato Soup
Cook a good strong broth, from a pound of beef or any quantity you like. The meat is cut up, and extracted by boiling in the manner we have described for various other soups: then, clean and rinse 4 Dutch cups of potatoes and add to the stock with some salt, as well as a few pieces of crumbled mace; leave it to cook until the potatoes are done, and serve with the small pieces of beef in it.
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86. p. 127, in the Appendix which contains useful household hints.
87. see note 47.
88. Quoted by Daniel Morcrette in his reprint of La Cuisinière Républicaine, p. (14). See note 71.
89. This dish is still alive and well and known colloquially as Hete Bliksem (Hot Lightning).

THE MEDLAR: GOING OR COMING BACK?

Hella van Schaik-Colijn

There are many examples to give of foods which have travelled widely and have become known in large parts of the world. A classic example of course is the potato, brought here from the New World and now a staple food in Europe.

In our days many foods, even highly perishable ones like fresh fruit, can travel all over the world thanks to air transport. It is not too long ago that, e.g., kiwifruit were quite unknown in the Netherlands, but today one can buy them in every supermarket.

There are, on the other hand, foods which used to be well-known in many countries, but which are now almost or even completely forgotten. This phenomenon one could describe, with a little stretch of the imagination, as travelling in a negative sense. The importance of these foods is decreasing instead of increasing.

If this is the case, would it then be worthwhile to try to save these foods from oblivion? Or should one let history take its course and let them disappear? We do spend money on buildings and monuments and museums to save and guard material things of our history. We save kitchen utensils but not the food people ate. I would think it is just as important to treasure the old foodstuffs (such as fruits) as it is to treasure old stoves or pots and pans.

I got interested in the matter when we moved to our present home. In the old orchard belonging to this house, there were two quince trees and three medlars. I did not know these fruits (not having grown up in the Netherlands), but to my great surprise most people I asked either had never heard of them or, if they had, they did not know what to do with these fruits. The only way people would know anything about the medlar was in the well-known Dutch saying 'zo rot als een mispel', which means 'as rotten as a medlar'. This saying is well known in all strata of the population, which would suggest that in times gone by the fruit was widely known.

This paper is a first attempt to organize the material I collected on the medlar, and to initiate thinking about possible reasons for the disappearance of this fruit and perhaps its comeback.

It is my intention to raise many questions on this subject. I hope that some of these questions will be answered, but it is even more important that a great many more questions will be asked. This way I hope to get a fairly complete picture of the medlar in the long run.

ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION

The Latin name is Mespilus germanica. This name is rather misleading. Linnaeus gave it the name germanica because he thought it was a native of Germany. He found many wild trees there, but the medlar was actually naturalized in this area and not native in Germany.

The tree is in fact native in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and the eastern part of Turkey, the western part of Iran and around the Caucasus. The medlar came to Greece around 700 BC. Archilochos of Paros already mentioned the fruit. After the Macedonian Wars, about 200 BC, it came to Rome. Theophrastus[9] and later Pliny already described three different types of medlars.

It is probable that the Greeks brought the medlar to their colony Massilia (now Marseille) and that the Roman soldiers took it along from

there to the north during the Gallic Wars. The tree was commonly planted around the garrison-towns of the Romans.

The tree must have felt quite at home in Northern Europe (especially in the German region?) judging by the extent to which it went wild again in these regions.

Nowadays it often can be found in small bushes consisting of different types of trees, in hedges, but always in the neighbourhood of human dwellings.

It is found wild in Austria, mostly in Niederösterreich, up to 1100 metres, in Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands. It is depicted in mosaics in Pompeii.[2] Charlemagne (768-814) mentioned the medlar as one of the trees which should be planted in the orchards of the imperial gardens (Capitulare de Villis Imperialibus). It also figures on the famous list of the St. Galler Klostergardens of 820.[17]

NAMES OF THE MEDLAR

Apart from being an important tree it must also have been a rather popular tree judging by all the different folknames it has.

But first I will give the official names in the different countries. To start from the beginning: the Greek name is mespilon, which comes from mesos, meaning half, and pilos, meaning ball.[6]

In Latin it was called mespilum; in French, nèfle; in Italian, nespola; in Spanish, nispero; in German, Danish, Swedish and Dutch, mispel. Some of the more popular names are, e.g., in Austria: asperl, esperl, eschpaling. In the south-west part of the Jura it is (was?) called niple, nipperlie. In the Netherlands it is also called iespele, mespele.

In Dutch as in French it is also called by a nickname: in Dutch it is 'apenaars', which means monkey's arse. In French it is called 'cul de singe', which also means monkey's arse, or 'cul de chien', dog's arse. Is it perhaps because of its appearance that people gave the medlar this name?[10]

In several parts of the Netherlands riddles still exist in which the medlar plays a role. People would have had to know what a medlar looked like to be able to understand the riddle.

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE MEDLAR IN THE NETHERLANDS

We have seen how the medlar came to N. Europe. Some authors however suggest that the medlar is native to this part of the world and state that it played an important role in Celtic and Germanic folklore.[7] I have not been able to verify this. The majority of the authors state however that the tree was brought here by the Romans as a cultivar and that it later naturalized in these regions. This is not the same as being native to the area. Could it be that merchants from Marseille had brought the medlar north to the Germanic and Celtic peoples, long before the Romans started to conquer this part of the world? We know that the Greeks had founded a colony, then called Massalia, in 600 BC. This colony was a very important trade centre for the Greeks in this part of the world. And it does sound plausible that the Greeks brought along, amongst other things, the medlar, and that it was already known to people in Northern Europe before the Romans brought it along.

In this part I will talk about some historical aspects concerning the medlar, especially in the Netherlands.

Although the medlar was known in the Netherlands it played a rather important role, especially in the south-western part of the country (Zeeland and the western part of Noord-Brabant, the environment of

Breda).[4] We know, e.g., that in Middelburg (Zeeland) the medlar was sold on the market in large quantities.

In 1449 in Breda a list was published of the rights and duties of the 'Froeyteniersgilde' (the fruitsellers). This list also gives the names of the fruits they were allowed to sell, and the medlar was one of them.[7]

In 1664 there apparently was some disagreement (in Zeeland) as to whom the trees on a farm belonged when a tenant would leave his farm. Did the trees etc. belong to the tenant, especially when he had planted them, or did they belong to the owner of the land? In 1664 the 'Staten van Zeeland' (which was the government of the province) made a Verdict, stating that everything growing on the land belonged to the owner. A list of trees follows and the medlar is one of the first ones mentioned in it. This would also suggest that it was a common tree and a rather important tree to have.[7]

But not only in the above-mentioned parts of the Netherlands did the medlar play a role. It must also have been a popular tree in the eastern part (now the province of Gelderland). One can deduce this from the fact that in the coat of arms of the Dukes of Gelre and Zutphen before 1229, when the lion appeared, a white flower was depicted. And for a long time people believed this was the flower of the Gelderse rose, Viburnum populus, which is now the emblem of the province, but the flower in the coat of arms was in actuality the flower of the medlar. Even in our days some cities still carry this white flower in their emblem, as e.g. Lochem, Beek en Donk, Goor.[2]

The fruit of the medlar can be found quite frequently on Dutch still-life paintings during the past centuries. One author suggests they were eaten at breakfast to wake you up. I have not tried this as yet so I would not know whether this works or not. The medlar has a symbolic function in the paintings, as of course the other fruits do, but the fact that it was painted would suggest that the medlar was available to the painter.

After the 17th century the importance of the medlar as a fruit tree declined in the Netherlands. In this period the tree itself became more important. This is understandable when one thinks of the changes in fashion in gardening. Up to that time the formal gardens were in vogue, and in these gardens trees had to have a specific shape or were cut in a shape. Later on, under the influence of English garden architecture, the more park-like gardens came into fashion and in those gardens trees like the medlar were very welcome. The medlar is a fairly low tree, between 3 and 6 metres high, with a broad crown and heavy foliage which turns a beautiful reddish-brown in fall. Branches, and often even the trunk, are contorted. The leaves are long and pointed, about 12 cm. long, hairy on the underside. And a mass of white, scentless flowers appear during the second half of May. The fruit is greenish-yellow when unripe, it looks a bit like an apple, but with an indentation on the top, surrounded by the calyces.

During this period of the park-like gardens villages like Vianen and Boskoop became famous for their tree nurseries. They also grew medlars, and these were very often exported to Germany and Great Britain.[7]

The author of the article just cited suggests that at this moment, as far as he can make out, not more than 100 fruit-bearing trees still exist in Holland. This I cannot verify or deny, but it does seem a very low estimate.

One can still find the trees used as a windbreak around orchards, because of their heavy foliage and strong root system, often near a ditch. This phenomenon is explained by pointing out the medlar's need for water. I wonder if it needs that much more water than other fruit trees. A more plausible explanation is that many orchards are surrounded by ditches. Therefore planting the medlar on the outside of the orchard would automatically put the tree near a ditch.

Another explanation I found was that less important fruit trees were planted on the outside of the orchard. This would include the medlar, the quince and the plum.[7] I would think that these trees were all planted on the outside of the orchard because of their size; they are smaller than apple and pear trees, the old-fashioned ones. And windbreaks are often planted in such a way that the wind is swept upwards as it were by putting the smaller trees or bushes on the outside and the taller ones in the middle. This way of planting windbreaks can still be found along the coast in Noord-Holland. Around orchards often a row of poplars is planted nowadays.

USES OF THE MEDLAR

The most obvious use of a fruit-bearing tree is of course the consumption of the fruit. The medlar can be eaten raw, but only once it is bletted.[1,6] Fruit is picked in late autumn and at that stage it is still very hard and greenish-yellow in colour. When kept in a cool place, e.g. in layers of straw or sawdust, it will keep for many weeks, even months. During this time a process of fermentation will take place which changes the consistency of the fruit. It becomes soft to touch and brownish in colour. At this stage it can be sucked empty, leaving the skin and stones behind. The consistency of the flesh is rather coarse with a very special taste to it, difficult to describe. Someone described it to me as eating coarse apple sauce with a large amount of cinnamon in it. Eaten when they are still hard they will pucker up your mouth, due to the tannic acid which is present in the fruit.

The fruit used to be offered as a dessert fruit,[3] or at breakfast (see description above).

In Great Britain during the nineteenth century medlars were put in moist sawdust in a silver bowl and left on the cupboard for everyone to take.[14]

Because it keeps very well without cooling, the medlar played an important role in the diet in earlier ages.

In addition to being eaten raw, the fruit can also be used to make harvest wine or a cider. People also used to add it to their wine to give the wine the special medlar taste. Medlars could also be sugared. This way they were often eaten on 11 November, St Martin's Day.[13] And of course they can be cooked and made into jelly very easily due to the high concentration of pectin in them.[3] In French this is called gelée de nèfle.[4]

Instead of making jelly out of the juice, one can make a sweet sauce to serve with puddings or a sauce to serve with game.[3] In that case, add a few drops of Worcestershire sauce to it.[5]

The medlar used to play a role in folk medicine. To give a few examples: medlars in honey were used against morning-sickness. Medlar stones pounded to a powder were used to heal wounds. Eating unripe medlars will cause obstipation[8] and they were therefore used against diarrhoea. The stones, pounded to a powder again and put into white wine together with a parsley root, were said to help against kidney stones.[2] Water in which unripe fruit had been soaked was used as a mouthwash.[8,10]

Because the medlar tree is resistant to most diseases, except for the larvae of a butterfly[9], it was believed that the devil and witches were afraid of the tree. Hence the custom in France to suspend a medlar branch in the stable to ward off evil spirits. A little cross made out of medlar wood was often put in the cradle of a newborn baby to protect the child against evil.[15,16]

Of course, it is not only the fruit which can be used. The medlar is a relatively slow-growing tree, which means that the wood is rather hard and in this case oily. In earlier days, this wood was used to make spearpoints, clubs and fighting sticks for the hunt and for warfare. Later on the wood was used, at least in the Netherlands, for making parts of windmills, especially some of the turning wheels.

The tannic acid in the unripe fruit was used in the tanning industry.

The uses of the tree as a windbreak and later as an ornamental tree have already been discussed.

PRESENT-DAY SITUATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Until a few years ago, medlars were never sold (or hardly ever) on the markets or in fruit stores, with the exception of Amsterdam maybe. Nowadays you might find them occasionally on the market in fall.

Why has this fruit bcome so unpopular, actuslly in such a short time?

As we have seen in this paper, the importance of the fruit started to diminish several centuries ago. But even so the medlar must have been around during the first part of our century. Many older people will remember having seen medlars during their youth. Young people though have never seen a medlar. One might conclude that the popularity has decreased rapidly during the last 50 years.

It is obvious that many uses of the wood for example do not apply any more in our days. We don't use spears or clubs any more, nor even wheels for the windmills. Even as a windbreak it is not used any more. Now rows of poplars are planted around the orchards.

What about the fruit then?

The past 70 years have seen a grest increase in types of fruit available all year round. Canning, freezing and air transport have brought the most exotic fruits into our daily life. Older people will still remember the time oranges were given as a very special Christmas treat to children, especially in the lower income class. But now oranges are part of our daily diet, and we get fresh pineapple, mangoes, passion fruit, kiwifruit, to mention only a few. But the other fruits, such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, strawberries etc. are still very popular also. Why did these fruits stay and other fruits disappear, like the medlar, the quince and the mulberry? Has a change in taste taken place and if so in what direction? And why?

The other change which has taken place is the way in which food is being sold at the supermarket. When one looks at the potatoes or carrots, for exsmple, they appear to have never even touched soil. They are incredibly clean in their plastic bags. During the past years people were interested in the appearance of their food. Everything had to be spotless, no blemishes, no dirt, beautifully shsped, nice and shiny. Cucumbers hsd to be straight. Tomatoes were almost perfectly round and beautifully red. Apples looked nice and shiny, strawberries were bright red and enormous in size. The bigger the better. At the moment this attitude is starting to change, I think. People realize that the tomatoes they tasted in Italy might not be perfect in shape but were superior in taste to the nice round ones they were used to. Cucumbers do not have to be straight any more.

But in a period when the appearance of food was so important, the medlar would of course not be an attractive type of fruit, especially with the idea that it has to be eaten rotten!

Another reason might be the changing social conditions. Large houses with large gardens are not being built any more, at least not in great numbers. The gardens belonging to older houses often do not have orchards any more because of the difficulty in upkeep. And gardens belonging to the run-of-the-mill type houses are getting smaller and smaller. It seems therefore quite natural that medlars are not the first choice if there is only room for one fruit tree. These developments in housing facilities probably have had a great influence on the disappearance of the medlar also.

Although it is rather presumptuous to make such sweeping statements as 'in this era of nostalgia, old fruits like the medlar will make their comeback', it is a fact that people are becoming more interested in old-fashioned fruits like the golden rennet, while they are so much tastier than some of the modern varieties. And maybe this increasing interest in taste rather than appearance will bring about a revival of the medlar. I don't think that it would ever become a very popular fruit again. The choice in fruit is too great at the moment.

SOME QUESTIONS

This paper is only a first attempt to describe old-fashioned fruits, for which I chose the medlar. I hope that more questions have been raised than answered.

I have not studied the medlar in other countries, say Germany, France, USA or Australia. I don't know whether it is still being eaten in countries like Turkey or Russia.

What other reasons can be given for the disappearance of this fruit? Could it be that it was a sign of poverty to eat medlars, at least in our century? If so, would this partly explain the disappearance of the medlar? It sounds feasible that people will disregard poverty food when the standard of living rises. Turning this argument around, if it became the in-thing to eat medlars, would they become popular again? Or would it still be a small group who would eat them? Let's face it, people eat the weirdest things, as long as it is fashionable. What to think of the fashion of gourmetting, which seems rather popular in the Netherlands, but which has nothing to do with good eating as far as I am concerned? (Everyone cooks his own meal at the table in baby-size frying pans.)

So why not eat medlars then?

To go back to the beginning of this paper, this fruit is an example of the foodstuffs which are disappearing or maybe have disappeared already. They have travelled in the negative sense, i.e. to put it mathematically they are now on the minus side of zero, or at least coming close to that area. Or is history taking its course and has the medlar come to the end of its life-cycle? Of course the medlar is not the only one; there are the quince, the crab-apple, the mulberry. It seems important, apart from studying food which has travelled widely, to study those foods which are disappearing, in an effort to save as much as possible of them. Once these foods are gone, they will be gone forever.

OLD RECIPE

Gelée de Nèfles
Boil ripe medlars with a little bit of water until soft. Put through a sieve. Weigh the pulp. Add three-quarters of the weight of pulp in sugar and boil the two together until it is a smooth consistency. When a drop of this mixture will solidify when dropped on a saucer, it is ready to put into jars.

This recipe I found in the article written by Lola Craandijk on medlars, printed in the Dutch magazine on gardening, 'Groei en Bloei'. When I make medlar jelly I use the clear juice instead of the pulp. When you reheat the juice with the sugar it will turn a beautiful, clear red.

MY OWN RECIPE
This recipe is not new nor is it very spectacular, but it is extremely easy to make and very attractive to serve. You need:

1 litre of fluid, made up of medlar juice, juice of one lemon, and a little rum or kirsch
35 gm. gelatine
about 300 gm. sugar or to taste, depending on whether you like a sweet or slightly sour pudding
a dash of cinnamon

Heat some of the fluid, add sugar to it and stir until dissolved. Add soaked gelatine to the mixture and dissolve. Pour the rest of the juice into this mixture. Rinse out a mould and pour in your mixture. Let it set for several hours or until stiff. Serve with vanilla sauce. You will find that the clear medlar juice will turn opaque and a special pink colour when you add the gelatine to it. This combination of the pink colour with the vanilla sauce on it is very attractive to see and pleasing to eat.

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THE ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON MEDIAEVAL CATALAN CUISINE

Barbara Santich

Almost two centuries separate two of the earliest Catalan cookery books. In that length of time, many developments can occur, many changes can be introduced into the cuisine of a particular region.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, saw great expansion of the Catalan empire which, at its peak, included Sicily, parts of Italy and part of Greece. In the fourteenth century, Barcelona had consuls in all the Mediterranean ports and in the market places along the Atlantic. One might expect, therefore, that at least some of the changes in Catalan cuisine in this period might have resulted from contact with different cuisines in other parts of the Mediterranean, especially Italy, since Catalan rulers resided at Naples during the second half of the fifteenth century.

This paper is an attempt to identify and examine the differences between Catalan cuisine of the early fourteenth century, as represented in the Sent Sovi, and Catalan cuisine of the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century, as represented by the Libre del Coch, by de Nola.

It would probably be presumptuous to believe or assert that each of these works accurately represented the actual cuisine of that time, any more than, say, Paul Bocuse's book, La Cuisine du Marché, portrays French cuisine in the 1970s. One can state with some certainty that this or that dish was prepared in a certain class of households, but how regularly was it prepared? How widespread was the dish? Was the choice and composition of recipes influenced by the personal tastes of the cook, or of the head of the household he cooked for? Were these affected by the generosity or otherwise of the kitchen budget?

Despite the limitations, mediaeval cookery treatises are the best available source of information on mediaeval cookery. One should, however, have reservations about extending the conclusions drawn from comparison of two isolated works to Catalan cuisine in general. These reservations are implicit in the discussion following.

SOURCES

1. Libre de Sent Sovi (Receptari de Cuina), ed. Rudolf Grewe, Barcelona, 1979. (Hereafter referred as SS)
This anonymous work is presumed to have been written or compiled early in the fourteenth century and is the oldest known Catalan text on cuisine. The present edition (200 recipes in main text) has been based on the Barcelona manuscript, and additional material from the Valencia manuscript included as an appendix (22 recipes). Grewe suggests that both these manuscripts are derived from a third, original manuscript which included an additional 21 recipes, not found in either the Barcelona or Valencia manuscript.
2. Mestre Robert: Libre del coch, ed. V. Leimgruber, Barcelona 1982. (Hereafter MR)
Although it is very likely that earlier manuscript versions of this work existed, the first Catalan edition was published in 1520, and was followed by at least three other editions in Catalan. A Castilian translation was published in Toledo in 1525, another in Longrono four years later, and at least five other editions were published. It was plainly a popular work.

Nothing seems to be known of the author or compiler, Robert (Ruperto) de Nola, except that he claims to have been cook to Ferdinand, King of Naples. This Ferdinand was most probably Ferdinand (Ferrante) I of Naples, who reigned from 1458 until 1494. He was succeeded by his son Alfonso II, who abdicated a year later in favour of his son, Ferdinand's grandson, Ferrantino, who took the name Ferrante II, King of Naples. Ferrantino, however, died in 1496.

Ferdinand was born in Spain, the son of Alfonso V and an unknown mother. He arrived in Italy, probably before the age of 20, several years before his father assumed the throne of Naples in 1442. His education was completed in Italy, and he married an Italian woman, grand daughter of the Prince of Taranto. After her death in 1465, Ferdinand married his cousin, Giovanna d'Aragona, in 1477.

It appears that Ferdinand resided in Naples, or nearby, although it is possible that he returned to Catalonia, relatively close by sea, from time to time and almost certainly for his second marriage. It is quite likely that he was influenced by his Italian environment, and perhaps by an Italian wife, although he may well have continued the custom of his father, of appointing mostly Catalan noblemen to his inner court and of retaining an Aragonese pattern in the structure of his household.

Although nothing is known of the identity or nationality of Mestre Robert, it does seem reasonable to suggest that his cooking would have retained a Catalan base, yet have been influenced by Italian practices.

3. Libro de Cozina de Ruperto de Nola. Facsimile edition of second Castilian translation of the previous work, Madrid 1971. (Hereafter DN)

4. Arte della Cucina, ed. E. Faccioli, Milan, 1966.

This work contains many mediaeval works; those referred to in this paper are:

Anonimo Toscano, dated about the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth. (Hereafter AT)

Anonimo Veneziano, dated about the end of the fifteenth century, but could be earlier than this. (Hereafter AV)

Libro de arte Coquinaria, of Maestro Martino, dated about 1450. (Hereafter MM)

INGREDIENT ANALYSIS

In her edition of MR, Leimgruber gives an analysis of the frequency of occurrence of ingredients, based on 229 recipes. I have done a similar analysis for the 220 recipes of SS. These two analyses are probably not strictly comparable, since the two systems of counting and decision about what to include etc. probably differ, but nevertheless there does seem to be a difference in the use of herbs and spices.

	MR	SS		MR	SS
sugar	154	35	cloves	19	13
cinnamon	125	19	coriander	12	4
ginger	76	23	long pepper	9	1
saffron	54	37	onion	40	55
pepper	48	26	sage	7	11
parsley	38	41	garlic	6	20
honey	29	28	marjoram	4	15
mint	22	5	nutmeg	4	3

The most noteworthy differences are in the frequencies of use of sugar and cinnamon, although overall it appears that MR was more lavish with spices while SS relied more on garlic and fresh herbs. (These differences could, of course, simply reflect the fact that Ferdinand, or his cook, liked dishes sprinkled with sugar and cinnamon, or that an abundance of sugar and cinnamon was the mark of a royal and wealthy household.)

Approximately one in every six of the dishes described in MR was to be served sprinkled with sugar and cinnamon, and many others were to be served sprinkled with sugar alone. This mode of presenting dishes was much less common in SS, and indeed, many of the counterparts in SS, of recipes which in MR include the sugar and cinnamon decoration, do not specify the addition of cinnamon to the sugar (e.g. salsa di pago, mig-raust).

RECIPES FOR SPICE MIXTURES

It is also interesting to compare the compositions of the basic spice mixtures mentioned in both MR and SS. The figures show the number of equal-sized parts that were required of each ingredient:

salsa communa (MR)		salsa fina (SS)
4	ginger	14
3	cinnamon	3
1	pepper	2
½	cloves	2
½	nutmeg	½
½	mace	½
¼	saffron	½

Although the same spices are used in both mixtures, the proportion of ginger is much greater in the SS version.

A different mixture of spices for salsa communa is given in the second Castilian edition of de Nola (DN), emphasizing the possibility that individual preferences and particular circumstances might account for the differences from one work to the other:

salsa communa	1 part	ginger
(DN: amended)	3 parts	cinnamon
	1 part	pepper
	2 parts	cloves
	a little	dried coriander and saffron

The composition of the spice mixture 'specie fine' in AV, with equal parts of ginger, cinnamon and pepper, resembles that of MR more closely than that of SS.

For the spice mixture 'salso de pago' there is little difference between the two works, and similarly the SS recipe for 'pôlvora de duch' is very similar to one of the two versions of MR and to the recipe for 'specie dolce' of AV, apart from the omission of sugar (see the table on the next page).

Ingredients for three versions of pólvora de duch

	MR - 1	MR - 2	SS
cinnamon	4 parts	8 parts	4 parts
ginger	4 parts	16 parts	3 parts
cloves	1 part		2 parts
long pepper		8 parts	
grain of paradise		8 parts	
nutmeg		8 parts	2 parts
galangal		½ part	2 parts
cardamom			2 parts
sugar	96 parts	2 parts	96 parts

The specie dolce mixture is of 4 parts each ginger and cinnamon, 1 part each cloves and Indian bay leaf. The similarity between this and the first of the MR versions suggests that 'pólvora de duch' should be interpreted as 'sweet spice mixture' rather than 'duke's mixture'.

Thus although MR indicates a more lavish use of spices, the actual flavouring of dishes may have been very similar. Recipes in MR are more likely to specify actual spices, rather than just general 'spices' (in MM, too, there are no recipes for spice mixtures, but particular spices are indicated for each recipe) and thus it is difficult to compare the flavourings of dishes of SS and MR. The only development in Catalan cuisine which may have derived from Italy , as far as ingredients and flavourings are concerned, is the increased use of sugar.

COMPARISON OF RECIPES

It should be noted at the outset that there are more similarities than differences between the content of SS and the content of MR, although each contains some recipes not found in the other. In both works the first actual 'recipe' is for salsa de pago, and indeed the first 60 or so recipes in MR have counterparts in SS. More discrepancies are found towards the end of the non-Lent section in MR, where there are quite a lot of recipes which do not have equivalents in SS.

The following discussion does not take into account the recipe sections at the end of each work for fish dishes and dishes for Lent, nor does it consider every recipe which is not common to both works. However, it will show that many of the recipes included in MR but not in SS are derived from Italian works or show an Italian influence.

DIRECT BORROWINGS

It is obvious that some of the new recipes of MR are direct borrowings from Italy - torta a la genovesa, soopes a la lombarda, xinxanella a la veneciana. Others refer to Italian ingredients - the recipe for bon formatge torrador suggests the use of cheese from Lombardy or Parma as well as from Aragon.

Salviat (MR), a sort of sage-flavoured omelette, is identical to the salviata of AV, except for a sprinkling of sugar for the former.

Sopes daurades (MR) sounds as though it should be similar to the suppa dorata of MM, but the former is a savoury dish and the latter a type of sweet fritter.

USE OF QUINCES

There are no quince recipes in SS, but two in MR. Bon codonyat (MR) resembles in name the codogniato (AV), which is a sweet spiced quince paste, but the actual dish was probably closer to the menestra de pome cotogne (MM). Bon codonyat is a purée of quinces cooked in almond milk, spiced and thickened with egg yolks; Martino's recipe is almost identical, although it omits the egg yolks. Codonyat is served sprinkled with sugar and cinnamon, the menestra with sugar and 'specie dulce'.

The second quince recipe in MR, codonys bullits en olla, is closer to codogniato in ingredients, but after cooking the quinces are served sliced, and not made into a paste. It is noteworthy that this recipe in MR includes mention of una cassola o pinyata cuberta, which indicates that the recipe has an Italian source. The term 'pinyata' is of Italian origin, and many recipes in both AV and MM refer to this utensil.

ADAPTATIONS OF ITALIAN DISHES

The names of some of the recipes in MR appear to indicate that Italian recipes have been adapted to Catalan tastes - for example, robiols a la catalana, bruscat a la catalana, garbies a la catalana.

Each of these three recipes uses fresh pork fat for deep or shallow frying, and the author of the recipes advises that they be reserved for the month of November, since that is the time to eat fresh pork. However, he also suggests butter (mantega) as an alternative to pork fat; this is almost certainly an Italian influence, as butter was not used for frying in SS.

Robiols appears to be a corruption of the term 'ravioli' (MM) or 'rafioli' (AV), although the MR recipe for robiols does not resemble any of the recipes for ravioli in either AT, AV or MM. Robiols a la catalana is a dish of deep-fried pastries, with a filling of ground hazelnuts and pinenuts, eggs, rosewater, sugar and spices, and is similar to another recipe in MR, panades de sucre fi, deep-fried pastries with a filling of almonds, sugar, rosewater and ginger. This latter recipe is quite close to a recipe in AV for quinquinelli zoe rafioli..., in which a mixture of ground almonds and sugar (and meat, if it is a day on which meat is allowed) is 'made as ravioli' and fried in good fat. It seems possible that this recipe, or a similar one, could have been the basis of the recipe for robiols.

I have not traced the origin of broscat a la catalana, which appears to ne a sort of pancake made with bread dough, flour, milk, egg yolks, sugar and rosewater, and fried in butter or pork fat as one would an omelette. More rosewater and honey are poured over the pancakes when cooked. Although there are several recipes in SS for similar pancakes made with bread dough and eggs, none includes rosewater.

Garbies a la catalana are again deep-fried pastries, this time with a filling of borage, silverbeet, fresh cheese, spices and hard-boiled egg yolks. This filling is similar to one of the ravioli recipes in MM, the ingredients of which are chopped herbs, fresh cheese, eggs and spices.

These three 'catalanized' dishes have one feature in common - a dressing of rosewater and honey when cooked. This use of rosewater is not found in SS, but in MM the addition of rosewater and sugar is a common practice, especially for 'torta'; MM gives every torta, and a few other dishes as well, this treatment.

The xinxanella of MR appear very similar to the zanzarelli of MM: a sort of dumpling cooked in boiling liquid. MM gives several variants (white, green and yellow), and the last-mentioned, with ingredients of eggs, grated

cheese and bread, is almost identical to the recipe in MR, where a dough is made of cheese, eggs, spices and saffron (and probably bread - the MR recipe omits bread, but the translation of the recipe in DN includes bread). In the MM recipe the dumplings are cooked in a stock coloured yellow with saffron, and served with spices; in MR the dumplings themselves are yellow, and are cooked in stock alone.

There are two recipes in MR for roast birds with a sort of crust. For gallina armada the crust is made with egg yolks and flour, brushed over the bird when it is part-cooked; capo armat is covered with almonds and pinenuts stuck with egg yolks beaten with sugar. I could not find similar recipes in either AT, AV or MM, but a similar recipe is included in Le Menagier de Paris (end 14th century), under the title poussins à la mode lombarde, in which chickens are brushed with a mixture of eggs, verjus and spices before roasting. It is therefore possible that such a treatment is of Italian origin, but it should also be noted that a similar method is used in SS for spit-roast goat, which is brushed with a mixture of egg yolks and spices during cooking.

USE OF HERBS AND LEAFY VEGETABLES

MR includes recipes using herbs and green leafy vegetables which have no equivalent in SS but for which there are counterparts in the Italian works. Although there are four distinct recipes, they are all similar. Potatge modern uses chopped, parboiled spinach, silverbeet and borage, fried in the fat rendered by salt pork then boiled in spiced milk (goat, sheep or almond milk), with the pieces of cooked pork added at the end. The second version of this recipe, altre potatge modern, calls for silverbeet only, and the dish is served with grated cheese. In potatge que.s diu jota, parboiled silverbeet, borage, mint and parsley are chopped and re-boiled for a very short time, so as not to lose their greenness, and pieces of fried pork may also be added. The recipe for espinachs capolats calls for chopped, parboiled spinach to be fried in pork fat then cooked in stock or milk (goat, sheep or almond), with the addition of fresh cheese and/or raisins if desired, or parsley and mint.

Counterparts to these recipes are found in AT - de l'erbe minute - and MM - menestra d'herbette. For the former, chopped, parboiled spinach, borage, parsley and silverbeet, with fennel and other herbs if desired, are cooked with almond milk; in the latter, parboiled silverbeet and borage, plus parsley and mint, are chopped, cooked in a fatty stock and seasoned with pepper, if desired.

Although one of the three versions of potatge de saliendrat in MR is practically identical to the recipe for saliandre in SS, except for the addition of the sugar and cinnamon garnish by MR, the two other MR recipes are quite different in that they call for fresh green coriander as well as dried. Also, these two appear to be dishes to be served on their own, rather than as a sauce to accompany partridge or chicken. The inspiration for these two recipes remains a mystery; I have not found a similar use of coriander in the Italian works.

ALIDEM

Alidem appears in both SS and MR, but whereas there are 11 recipes for, or with, alidem in SS, it is mentioned only once in MR. Alidem appears to have been a very common sauce; in SS it is recommended to be served with peacock, boiled meat, roast pork, kid, poultry or small birds, fried eggs, cheese and pies. Basically, it is a stock thickened with eggs beaten with verjuice or vinegar and spices. The MR version is, however, more

elaborate, with the inclusion of onion and herbs (parsley, marjoram) and seems to have been intended as a 'potatge' rather than as a sauce.

I can think of no reason why such a dish fell out of favour, except that it simply became old-fashioned, and its place was taken by newer sauces.

CONCLUSION

Although the foregoing is not a thorough analysis of the entire contents of these two early Catalan cookery books, it does demonstrate that many of the differences between the two works (and, perhaps, between Catalan cuisine of the early fourteenth century and the early sixteenth century) can be attributed to Italian influence.

While it is possible that trade and travel brought Catalans into contact with people in other parts of the Mediterranean, it seems more likely that this Italian influence on Catalan cuisine was the direct result of a Catalan ruler residing at Naples.

Perhaps it should be noted that the trade was not just one way. In Martino's book there are at least five recipes 'a la catelana', plus other recipes practically identical to those of SS or MR (for example, Martino's salsa de pavo). Even in AT, there are references to Spanish versions of some recipes. It seems likely that in the mediaeval period, a number of dishes were common to many Mediterranean countries, and that differences between the Mediterranean region and the northern region (England, northern France) were far greater than those between one Mediterranean region and another.

FOOTNOTE

One bizarre recipe I found in MR is De menjar de gat rostit, which is a recipe for roast cat. I have never come across such a recipe in any other mediaeval cookery treatise, and I suspected that some other animal was meant; but the remarks of the author of the recipe, that it should be cut up as one would a rabbit, and that the first time you eat it you realise how tasty it is, made me realise that he did indeed mean a cat. I would like to know whether such a practice was confined to Catalan cuisine, or whether in other countries also cats ended on the dinner table.

THE SPREAD OF KEBABS AND COFFEE: TWO ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS?

Claudia Roden

Skewer cooking and coffee both originate in the Arab world. While the technique of threading cubes of meat, offal, chicken or fish on sticks or skewers and turning them over embers has slipped unnoticed into several countries, the tumultuous and romantic story of coffee has become legendary.

KEBABS

According to folklore, kebabs were invented on the battlefield by the Ottoman armies who pierced their meat with their swords and cooked it on open fires. The Turkish version today has pieces of lamb interspersed with bay leaves and bits of tomato, onions and peppers. Every Middle Eastern country has its own version of one of the most popular foods of the area. In Egypt they alternate cubes of meat with kofta (minced meat pressed round the skewer in the shape of a sausage). In Morocco kebabs are tiny and fiery, while Iranians serve them on a bed of rice accompanied by a raw egg yolk in its shell. Variety also comes with different flavourings and marinades.

While researching charcoal-grilled foods from all over the world, I was intrigued to find that this style of cooking prevailed mainly in countries with a Muslim population and areas which had been influenced by Islam. There are the seekh and boti kebabs and the tandoori cooking of North West India, and shashlyk which was introduced from the Caucasus into Russia when it absorbed Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. In South-East Asia, where Islam has taken root at the confluent of India and China, the art of the grill and the skewer has attained a special subtlety in the form of saté foods. Every Balkan country has kebabs, Greece has Souvlakia and in Italy the South has more skewered foods than the North.

All this reflects a cultural exchange which goes beyond the limits of influence of the Arab and Ottoman Empires in which people such as traders and religious scholars must have played a part. Kebabs are traditional street foods and travellers must have seen the skewered morsels turning on little braziers and been enticed by the delicious smell. One wonders why such a simple basic technique has not travelled further North and West. Perhaps the answer is that it is open air cooking and that it requires a warm climate.

COFFEE

The coffee bean must be the most successful 'foodstuff' ever, for its part in world trade is second only to oil. The story of its cultivation, like the story of the discovery of the drink and its adoption by one country after another, is gripping and colourful and has been well recorded. The coffee tree of the Coffea arabica species which was found growing wild in Ethiopia is the progenitor of all the quality coffees in the world. Legend attributes its discovery to a goatherd called Kaldi who noticed that his usually sleepy goats began to prance about excitedly after chewing the berries. It is the stimulating properties as well as the flavour and aroma of the infusion made from the roasted and ground beans inside the berry which constitute the special lure of coffee and the secret of its success.

So popular has the drink become, so large and dependable is the world consumer demand, that to satisfy it a coffee-growing belt has spread through almost all the lands lying between the tropic of Cancer and the tropic of Capricorn (it does not grow elswhere) across the Americas, Africa and India, embracing the Malagasy Republic and the East Indian, Pacific and Caribbean islands. Through more than 60 countries, cultivation of arabica as well as of the robusta and liberica species of plants, which are indigenous to Africa, provides a living for some 25 million people.

THE DRINK

Coffee berries were eaten whole at first, then a kind of wine was made with the fermented pulp. In about AD 1000 a decoction was made of the dried fruit, beans, hull and all. The practice of roasting the beans was started around the 13th century. The drink made by boiling up the roasted grounds first became popular with religious dervishes who drank it to keep awake during the nights given to religious devotion. It spread to Mecca and Medina and cultivation, which began in the Arabian colony of Harar in Ethiopia, was taken up intensively in the Yemen area of South Arabia from seedlings brought from Ethiopia. By the end of the 15th century the beverage was passed on by Muslim pilgrims to all parts of the Islamic world as far as Persia, Egypt, Turkey, North Africa and Iran. It soon became so popular that houses of the wealthy had a special room used only for drinking coffee and servants employed to make it, and coffee houses - some luxuriously carpeted and decorated - sprang up everywhere for the specific purpose of drinking the brew.

EARLY OPPOSITION AND PERSECUTIONS

Despite the enormous popularity of the drink, or rather because of it, coffee houses and drinkers encountered hostility and were regularly persecuted.

CHARGES OF IMMORALITY

Having made a start with religion, coffee became a threat to religious observance. The more people frequented coffee houses the less they went to the mosque. Backgammon, mankala, dancing, music and singing - activities frowned on by the stricter adherents of Islam - went on in the coffee houses and the establishment became afraid of the joy of life and sense of freedom liberated in coffee drinkers. Coffee houses were charged again and again with immorality and vice whether in Cairo, Aden, Medina, Damascus or Aleppo. They were always being closed and reopened or mobbed and wrecked by religious fanatics. The pious even tried to prohibit the drink by invoking the law proscribing wine drinking.

SUBVERSIVENESS

Coffee also became a 'subversive' drink because it gathered people together and sharpened their wits, encouraging political argument and revolt. Of the sporadic persecutions of coffee houses and drinkers, the most remarkable as well as the most savage was in 1656 when the Ottoman Grand Vizir Koprili suppressed the coffee houses in Constantinople, for political reasons, and prohibited coffee. For a first violation the punishment was cudgeling. For a second the offender was put into a leather bag which was sewn up and thrown into the Bosphorus. But people continued to drink coffee, which was sold in back-rooms behind shut doors. In Persia the establishment countered the political impact of coffee houses by installing a mullah to sit there every day and entertain the frequenters with poetry

and satire, points of law and history. In Syria and Egypt people came to listen to the tales of the Thousand and One Nights.

PREJUDICE

Efforts were made to undermine the drink. Such stories were put about as that coffee made men impotent and women barren.

INTRODUCTION INTO EUROPE

Coffee was first noticed by European travellers to the Levant in the late 16th century. An Italian travel writer, Pietro della Valle, wrote from Constantinople in 1615 about the strange drink he encountered:

> The Turks have a drink of black colour, which during the summer is very cooling, whereas in the winter it heats and warms the body, remaining always the same beverage and not changing its substance. They swallow it hot as it comes from the fire and they drink it in long draughts, not at dinner time, but as a kind of dainty and sipped slowly while talking with one's friends. One cannot find any meetings among them where they drink it not...With this drink which they call "cahue", they divert themselves in their conversations. ...When I return I will bring some with me and I will impart the knowledge to the Italians.

In the same year Venetian merchants brought coffee beans into Europe from Moka, five years after the Dutch brought tea, and eighty years after cocoa was introduced by the Spanish. The drink swept through the towns of Europe. By the middle of the 17th century coffee houses opened in England, Italy, France, Holland, Germany and Austria. Romantic tales have been woven around the introduction of coffee in each country, but its arrival in Vienna is particularly colourful. According to legend, when the town was besieged by the Turks in 1683, the invaders brought with them large supplies of green coffee. Franz George Kolschitzky, a Pole who had once been an interpreter in the Turkish army, volunteered to pass through enemy lines to reach Emperor Leopold's army across the Danube. Passing backwards and forwards, having donned Turkish uniform, Kolschitzky was the hero of one of the most dramatic moments in history. When the battle was won with the help of John Sobieski, King of Poland, and the Turks fled leaving behind many sacks filled with coffee, Kolschitzky was the only one who knew what to do with the strange beans. Having first peddled the drink from house to house, serving it in little cups from a wooden platter, he opened the first public booth where Turkish coffee was served, and later the first coffee house.

Coffee houses opened in one town after another, ennobling the ways of their frequenters by inaugurating a reign of temperance and luring people away from the cabaret and the tavern. They became celebrated institutions, changing the style of life and encouraging the convivial spirit. People went there to chat and gossip and to be entertained, sometimes also to read the newspaper or to play chess or backgammon. In 1843 Paris was said to be 'one big café' with 3,000 establishments. As a French periodical entitled Le Café pointed out in its slogan in 1805, the salon stood for privilege, the café for equality. Coffee has been called the

intellectual drink of democracy and in times of upheaval coffee houses became revolutionary centres, encouraging the interchange of ideas and generating liberal and radical opinion. There was a time when the streets of London were so full of coffee houses that people were sure to find one at every corner, guided by the ubiquitous signs of a Turkish coffee pot or the Sultan's head. Everything went on there. They were the stage for political debate, fringe centres of education and the origin of certain newspapers. Insurance houses, merchant banks and the stock exchange began in coffee houses.

However, with all this success, the introduction of coffee in Europe was not without pitfalls. Indeed, the more svid was its adoption and the wider it spread, the more hostility it aroused. A Women's Petition Against Coffee was published in London in 1674, complaining that men were never to be found at home during times of domestic crisis since they were always in the coffee houses, and that the drink rendered them impotent. The following year, in France, attempts were made to discredit the drink, which was seen as an unwelcome competitor by the wine merchants.

In Italy it was the priests who appealed to Pope Clement VIII to have the use of coffee forbidden among Christians. Satan, they said, had forbidden his followers, the infidel Moslems, the use of wine because it was used in the Holy Communion, and given them instead his 'hellish black brew'. It seems the Pope liked the drink, for his reply was: 'Why, this Satan's drink is so delicious that it would be a pity to let the infidels have exclusive use of it. We shall cheat Satan by baptizing it.' Thus coffee was declared a truly Christian beverage. But this did not stop the Council of Ten in Venice from trying to eradicate the 'social cankers', the cafés, which they charged with immorality, vice and corruption.

Coffee also met with opposition in Sweden, Prussia and Hanover. Frederick the Great, annoyed with the great sums of money going to foreign coffee merchants, issued the following declaration in 1777:

> It is disgusting to note the increase in the quantity of coffee used by my subjects and the amount of money that goes out of the country in consequence. Everybody is using coffee. If possible this must be prevented. My people must drink beer. His Majesty was brought up on beer, and so were his officers. Many battles have been fought and won by soldiers nourished on beer; and the King does not believe that coffee-drinking soldiers can be depended upon to endure hardships or to beat his enemies in case of the occurrence of another war.

It must be said that with all the official sanctions and taxation and the threats of disease and persecution, prohibitions were always more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In fact, coffee gained a greater impetus from the notoriety, and coffee houses survived every effort to suppress them.

COFFEE IN AMERICA

Coffee went to America with immigration and gained an immense impetus there following King George's Stamp Act of 1765, the Tea Tax of 1767 and the resulting boycott of tea which was responsible for making the Americans a nation of coffee drinkers. It was at the Boston 'Tea Party' of 1773, when the citizens of Boston boarded the British ships waiting in the harbour and threw all the British East India tea cargoes overboard, that coffee was

crowned once and for all the 'King of the American breakfast table'.

COFFEE TRADING AND CULTIVATION

The adoption of coffee drinking in Europe was the start of a most lucrative trade for the Arabians, one they jealously guarded for a hundred years while they were the sole providers of coffee to the world. Berries were not allowed out of the country without first being steeped in boiling water or parched to destroy their power of germination and strangers were prohibited from visiting plantations - a difficult task with so many pilgrims journeying to Mecca. It was in fact a pilgrim from Mysore in India who smuggled out the first beans capable of germination. Coffee reached Venice about 1615 and towards the end of the century all the countries in Europe were involved in active trading in what they called the 'Turkey berry' because it came through Turkey.

The first coffee plant to be brought to Europe was stolen by Dutch traders in 1616. The Netherlands East India Company realized the commercial advantages of cultivating the bean and after unsuccessful attempts at planting it in various parts of Europe turned to tropical lands. By the end of the century they had set up plantations in the Dutch colonies of Ceylon, Java and Sumatra, Celebes, Timor and Bali.

The French followed in a less businesslike, more romantic way with the introduction of coffee into their own colonies. A coffee plant was presented to Louis XIV by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam in 1714. It blossomed in the Jardin des Plantes, tended by the royal botanist, Antoine de Jussieu. It was destined, through the initiative of a young naval officer from Normandy, Gabriel Mathieu de Clieu, to become the progenitor of all the coffees of the Caribbean and the Americas. Delighted by the drink he discovered in the Paris coffee houses during a visit from Martinique, and hearing about the plantations in Java, he became obsessed with the idea of starting cultivation in the French colonies.

Having obtained a seedling through clever intrigue, he set sail for Martinique with the tender young plant in a glass box. The voyage was fraught with misadventure and the plant in constant danger, not least from a passenger who repeatedly tried to destroy it and even managed to tear off some leaves during a struggle with de Clieu. Surviving a fierce tempest and flooding with salt water as well as a period of water rationing during which it shared de Clieu's own scant supply, the seedling was eventually planted in the officer's garden in Martinique, surrounded by thorny bushes and under constant surveillance of an armed guard. This tiny plant was the origin of all the rich estates of the West Indies and Latin America. Coffee was introduced soon after in Spain's West Indian colonies of Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Britain was the last country to cultivate coffee in its colonies. It started cultivation in Jamaica in 1730 and waited till 1840 to begin cultivation in India, where it had previously concentrated on tea.

At the same time Brazil entered the field, acquiring the plant, as legend relates, through the charms of a lieutenant colonel Francisco de Melo Palheta. The Brazilian officer, having attracted the attentions of the Governor's wife on a visit to French Guiana in 1727, received a coffee plant hidden in a bouquet of flowers as a token of her affection. This gift was the start of the world's greatest coffee empire. Progress was slow at first, with Catholic missionaries playing a major part in spreading coffee growing throughout Brazil and in other parts of South America.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the terrible leaf disease

Hemileia vastatrix struck Asia. Within a few years it had completely wiped out coffee in India and Ceylon, Java, Sumatra and Malaya, leaving the field wide open to Brazil with its ideal volcanic soil, its moist foggy climate and its large slave labour force.

By the end of the century Brazil had achieved supremacy in world coffee production, a position it still holds today. The mass consumption of coffee had spread throughout the world, and coffee had entered its golden age. It is Brazil's growing and enormous production that has changed the role of coffee from luxury drink to common everyday beverage and Brazil, with Colombia a close second, still dominates the coffee markets of the world. While Yemen, the first producer, has slipped into inactivity, some of the old coffee producing countries are active again and new, mainly African, countries are making inroads into the South American supremacy.

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'SIESSES' AND 'SAUERES'

William Woys Weaver

This paper, contributed in absentia, is essentially an extract from the author's book Sauerkraut Yankees, just published by the University of Pennsylvania (and reviewed in Petits Propos Culinaires 14). The passage chosen is only one of a number which illustrate what happened when German cookery techniques and utensils migrated to Pennsylvania. Prospect Books thank the author and the UPP for readily agreeing that the passage should be among the texts made available for the Symposium.

The sweets and the sours - Siesses un Saueres - is the most recently developed branch of Pennsylvania-German cookery, one that took its final form (and one we know today) a good fifty years after the appearance of Gustav Peters's Die geschickte Hausfrau. [The book referred to, a translation of which constitutes the heart of Sauerkraut Yankees, was first published at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1848 and had a vigorous life until the 1880s; but very few copies have survived. It was one of the very first American ethnic cookbooks.] Gustav Peters's cookbook probably had little to do with this shift in taste, but if his recipes are any indication, a transition was already underway by the late 1840s, for the recipes represent a combination of two different approaches to sweets and sours.

By the early nineteenth century, at least two distinct 'taste cultures' had developed in southeastern Pennsylvania, three, actually, if we treat Philadelphia by itself. Philadelphia possessed a sophisticated cuisine that was more international in tone and is more readily accessible today through period cookbooks than the other two. Thus, in practice, its cookery was somewhat separate from the countryside around it.

In the countryside, two taste cultures existed side by side. The first was that of the Quakers and other English-speaking farmers who came to Pennsylvania for the most part from western England and Wales. They brought with them a cookery based on a dairy culture. Theirs was a 'white gravy' cookery, which used butter and milk (thickened with flour), or cream, in a vast number of sauce or gravy combinations. The most common table meats consisted of salt pork, 'flitch' (local dialect for unsmoked bacon), and dried beef. Each of these meats was usually prepared in some way with cream or milk, as in 'frizzled beef' (dried-beef gravy), and 'flitch-in-cream' (a variation of dried-beef gravy). As a contrasting flavour to this milk-based cookery, Anglo-Pennsylvanians generally preferred fruity sweets or preserves, so much so that in some households the use of pickles was unknown. In general terms, this system of taste was probably a continuation of certain aspects of Philadelphia cookery as it had existed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

In absolute contrast to this was the taste culture of the Pennsylvania Germans. Their cookery was pork and flour based, with particular emphasis on dough dishes (noodles, dumplings etc.) as accompaniments to fatty meat. Their brown gravies were usually made of drippings or stock thickened with roux. This required the acid contrast of vinegar or fruit juice to combine with the fat to make it more palatable. Thus predisposed to acidity in their cookery, Pennsylvania-German cooks placed greater importance on tart pickles than on sweet preserves. For this reason, pickles with tart fruits - especially cherries and crab apples, apple butter without sugar,

raspberry-flavored vinegar, slightly green peaches, gooseberries, and currants - all found great favor among the Pennsylvania Dutch.

One of the first intrusions into these two taste systems appeared in the form of Asiatic pickles, such as chutney, chow-chow, and 'mangoes' (recipe 121). These highly-spiced sweet pickles were rapidly assimilated into British cookery because they were for the most part originally intended as condiments with mutton in their native cuisines, and mutton was the staple meat of Britain. Through British trade contacts and British cookbooks, these pickles found their way to America. But in Pennsylvania, where large-scale mutton eating was generally limited to Philadelphia, adjustments had to be made to make the pickles more suitable for pork.

By the outbreak of the Civil War, these traditional taste systems in rural Pennsylvania began to undergo modification, which was accelerated by the rapid industrialization of the state after 1865. As eating habits became more urbanized, pork consumption declined in favor of beef shipped in from the west. By degrees, Pennsylvania Germans assumed the taste preferences of their Anglo-American neighbors. In short, they assimilated many Anglo-American sweet pickles and began adding more sugar to their sours.

The full range of sweet and sour pickles now associated with Pennsylvania-German cookery was not possible until white sugar became cheap and everywhere available, which did not happen until the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines after the Spanish-American War.

This increase in consumption of white sugar did not go unnoticed by the Pennsylvania Dutch. Period editorials wondered whether this change was really progress (a sign of new wealth) or just bad diet. The Inglenook, a publication of the Church of the Brethren (a Pennsylvania-German sect) remarked with a cautious note of wonder in its January 31, 1911, issue that by 1910 American sugar consumption had reached an all-time high of eighty-one and one-half pounds per person. These figures were based on U.S. government statistics that showed the average per capita consumption of sugar in 1880 was forty pounds. In thirty years, sugar consumption had doubled, with the largest jump occurring between 1900 and 1910. Thus, as a culinary development, the sweet and sour pickle was not so much a product of traditional Pennsylvania-German cookery as it was part of a larger American pattern. Most sweet and sour pickles now sold in the Pennsylvania-German area are typical of what was found throughout the United States at the turn of this century. The basic interplay of tastes in Pennsylvania-German cookery was the tart flavor of fruits contrasted against the salty or smoky flavor of meats, not the sweet-sour taste of refined sugar and vinegar.

The practice of placing so many sweets and sours on the table reached rural America by the turn of this century. In Appalachia, in poor families where good meat was not affordable, sweets and sours often took the place of meat or allowed cooks to reduce the meat portions, because the relative cost of sugar-based foods was cheaper. This also occurred in German Pennsylvania, as the consumption of fresh pork fell with the decline in home butchering.

Rural cooks did not develop the 'sweet and sour table' with which we are now so often confronted. They took their cue from church or charitable cookbooks and 'family style' restaurants that perfected a simplified version of the old French style of arranging symmetrically on the table all the food of a given course. In eighteenth-century America, the table for each course was completely covered with the main dish and its side

dishes. The pickles in Die geschickte Hausfrau, such as melon mangoes, pickled walnuts, and red cabbage, were all typical side dishes for an upper-class eighteenth-century American dinner, that is, as conditure for the roast. The placement of 'seven sweets and seven sours' on one table - or any other balanced number of side dishes - is strict service à la française. It is not of Pennsylvania-Dutch origin, whatever the number.

Any further similarity to service à la française stops here, for in Middle America, the term has lost its classic meaning. As for the pre-Civil War Pennsylvania-German table, it offered several kinds (or cuts) of meat rather than fourteen kinds of sweets and sours. In fact, in many households, sauerkraut took the place of other pickles altogether.

Pickles were not unknown, however; quite the contrary. But economics had a great deal to do with the type and number of pickles available in any given household. Certainly, sauerkraut was considered basic. Pickled cucumbers and string beans were probably next in order. Some of the earliest surviving Pennsylvania-German pickle recipes are specifically for these two vegetables.

Johann Krauss included two recipes for preserving string beans and Salzkummern (salted cucumbers, like dill pickles) in his Haus- und Kunstbuch (1819). Both of his recipes demonstrate very clearly that early Pennsylvania-German pickles were not intended to be sweet or mild, but that they shared a salty sharpness of flavor akin to sauerkraut. Many other pickling recipes appeared even earlier than this in Pennsylvania-German agricultural newspapers and almanacs, for pickling was traditionally the husband's sphere in the Pennsylvania-Dutch household.

Originally, in medieval German culture, pickling was mostly limited to the preservation of meat and fish, exclusively a man's task. A typical medieval German recipe for pickled fowl called for a brine of vinegar, salt, juniper berries, and caraway seed - strikingly similar to some later recipes for pickled cucumbers. According to the German cultural historian Karl Rhamm, the technique for pickling sauerkraut, beets, cucumbers and beans came to Germany from Slavic Europe. These pickles were gradually added to the traditional list of culinary chores expected of men, and in many cases, such as the pickle for fowl, older recipes were applied to new ingredients.

While most traditional Pennsylvania-German pickles were designed to humor the meat, preserves were generally intended for some type of Heemgebackenes (homemade baked good), eaten with the meal, one might say, as a fruit substitute.

The principal 'sweet' condiment (if it had sugar in it at all) was apple butter, called Lattwaerrick in Pennsylvania Dutch. Lattwaerrick is derived from German Latwerge, which in turn stems from Latin electuarium. Lattwaerrick is bound up with old medical connotations, for electuarium itself comes from Greek eleigma, an internal medicine. During the Middle Ages, and even into the seventeenth century, preserves containing sugar were considered medicines in Germany. Thus, they were the province of the apothecary shop. On the folk level, this attitude lingered in rural Pennsylvania even into the early nineteenth century. Blackberry jam, for instance, was a standard medicine for gallstones.

Most Pennsylvania Germans ate rye bread as daily fare (until the 1860s at any rate). Jams and jellies were not used so much as Schmieres (a spread) on bread as they were garnitures for cakes, pies, and cookies - items served only on unusual occasions. Butter and jam on a slice of white bread was a middle-class, Anglo-American symbol of status in the eighteenth century. Apple butter and cottage cheese on a slice of rye bread was the

Pennsylvania-German equivalent. In working-class rural households, rich confections like raspberry jam might be spread across the top of a freshly baked pie (made with raised crust), or mixed with vinegar and served hot over pork. Where formality was in order, jams and jellies were served as side dishes among the desserts and were generally eaten as spreads on cake, not bread. One reason for the popularity of almond cake and sponge cake among the Pennsylvania Dutch was that they could be eaten with a sweet Schmieres.

THE CORNISH PASTY IN NORTHERN MICHIGAN

William G Lockwood and Yvonne R Lockwood

The once popular image of the 'melting pot' is now all but dead in the United States.[1] The model was developed early in this century, in reaction to those who demanded immigrant conformity with the culture of the Anglo-Saxon majority. The idea envisaged a merger of the various peoples who had made their way to the United States, and 'a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type'.[2] The melting pot notion was, in its turn, supplanted by a pluralist model which emphasizes the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of later immigrant groups. The idea of the American melting pot is now in disrepute, and is considered by many ethnic leaders to be not only erroneous but demeaning. Perhaps this is an over-reaction. We should remember that all these models are ideal types. Truth, as is so often the case, lies somewhere in between. The melting pot did work, in its way. And in no other aspect of cultural activity is this so graphically demonstrated as in American foodways.

It is doubtful that a food diffused is ever adopted in quite the same form as it existed in the Old Country. Nor does it maintain the same symbolic meaning. This should not surprise us. Culture is always in flux, and the more so when population movement and the cultural displacement and confrontation which result from this are involved. To demonstrate these points we will examine one food - the Cornish pasty - and its diffusion, adoption and alteration in one region of the United States - the Upper Peninsula of the State of Michigan. We will focus on two contemporaneous processes, on one having to do with form and the other with function. Regarding form, we will show that the pasty, which existed in diverse forms in Cornwall, was first standardized in America, then later rediversified. With regard to function, we will demonstrate a transition of symbolic meaning from ethnic to multi-ethnic to regional.

The state of Michigan consists of two large peninsulas separated by the Straits of Mackinac and Great Lakes Michigan and Huron. The Southern, larger, portion includes all major population centres, all the most important industries, and all the major cultural institutions of the State. It was not until 1957, when the Mackinac Bridge was finally completed, that there were direct connections between this and the Upper Peninsula (the 'U.P.', as it is usually called by Michiganders). Previously, one could get from one peninsula to the other only by ferry or by traveling the length of Wisconsin and through Chicago, Illinois. As a consequence, the U.P. is a region much more closely related culturally, historically and demographically to northern Wisconsin and, to some extent, northeastern Minnesota, than to the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. Inhabitants of the U.P. (they call themselves Yoopers) have a highly-developed regional consciousness. They feel looked down upon by the people of the Lower Peninsula, and neglected by the state government. They even talk - only partly in jest - of breaking away and establishing a 51st state, to be called Superior.

Soon after Michigan became a state in 1837 some residents travelled north to investigate the upper peninsula that the American Congress had included in the state's territory. The reports they brought back triggered the first major mining boom in the United States. From the very beginning of the industry, a major role was played by Cornish immigrants.[3] By 1844,

two copper mining companies were already in operation with some twenty Cornish employees. These Cornishmen were valuable to the developing mining industry since they arrived already having had experience with deep mining techniques and machinery in the tin mines of Cornwall. As a consequence, the Cornish tended to set the pattern of mine work in the U.P. By the time of mass migration - the so-called 'New Immigration' - to the United States, the Cornish were already well established in the mines as skilled workers, foremen, bosses, and mining captains. The recently arrived Finns, Italians, Poles, Croats and Serbs provided the unskilled labor.

Just as the Cornish influence was felt in methods of mining, the Cornish also established the social and cultural life of the mining communities. The new immigrants looked upon the Cornish as established American citizens. They had status and their habits and ways were noted, if not imitated, as a model of American life. This relationship was typical of cultural relations between members of the New and Old Immigration. Elsewhere, it was particularly common that the Irish - as the most numerous of the 'Old Immigrants' - were emulated by newly-arrived eastern and southern Europeans.

Cultural geographers Milbur Zelinsky and Raymond Gastil [4] have argued that in the United States the first European or American white populations that established the economic and social basis of an area usually had decisive influence on later patterns which came to define it as a cultural region. A similar argument has been used by George Foster [5] in his analysis of the diffusion of Spanish culture to Mexico. Although immigrants from throughout Spain contributed to the colonial population of Mexico, the cultural patterns established there were nearly all Andalusian in origin. Foster attributes this to a process of cultural crystallization. Since Andalusians were the first to arrive in Mexico, because the conquest of Mexico directly followed the reconquest of Andalucia, it was they who established the cultural patterns for later arrivals.

In a similar manner, the earlier immigrants of northern Europe sometimes established the cultural patterns of later-arriving immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. From the perspective of 'greenhorns' from the other side of Europe, the practices of earlier arrivals, whose immigrant cultures had already been transformed to ethnic cultures, were accepted as 'the American way'. These were the Americans, after all, with whom new immigrants were most likely to have contact. It was likely to be their neighborhoods into which new immigrants settled, and they who were most likely to be the foremen and supervisors in the mills and mines where the immigrants went to work. Thus, it is not surprising that the ethnic culture which took shape was profoundly influenced by that of earlier immigrants. In no aspect of culture has this been more apparent than in foodways.

The pasty is a turnover of pie-like crust filled with a variety of food combinations. It is the national dish of Cornwall,[6] and it continued to play an important role in the diet of Cornish-Americans wherever they settled. And not surprising, the pasty was quickly adopted by newer immigrants who worked by their sides and under their direction in the mines of the U.P. It was not just a recipe that was passed from one ethnic group to another, but an entire cultural complex: the use, the way of eating, and so on. All diffused as a package. At the same time, some significant alterations and innovations took place in the process of this diffusion and adoption by non-Cornish.

The particular use of the Cornish pasty was an important reason why it was so readily adopted by members of other ethnic groups in the U.P. In

both Cornwall and among Cornish-Americans, the pasty was traditionally associated with work:[7]

> The Cornish pasty is one of the best examples in the world of what one might call functional food. For the Cornish pasty ... is not merely delicious food, it was designed for a certain quite definite purpose; it was designed to be carried to work and eaten in the hand, to be taken down the mine, to sea, to the fields. You will see a Cornishman munching his tasty pasty squatting in the narrow tin-mine workings, sitting in the nets in his leaping fishing-boat, leaning against a grassy bank while his patient plough-horses wait.

In the United States, the pasty was particularly associated with mining.[8] It is very well suited to this use: it is easily carried in pails or specially-made sacks; it retains its heat for a long time; it is eaten with the hands; and, it is a hearty meal-in-one. Little wonder that the Finns, Italians and Slavs who saw their Cornish foremen eating pasty soon were demanding the same from their own wives.

Cornishmen are now a relatively small ethnic component of the U.P. The predominant ethnic group today is the Finns. The first Finnish immigrants to the U.P. began to arrive in 1864, well after the main Cornish immigration but thirty years prior to the massive Finnish immigration which began around the turn of the century. By 1880 foreign-born Finns in the U.P. numbered over one thousand. The first arrivals tended to be skilled workers and were given employment as carpenters, blacksmiths, and skilled yardsmen at the mines. Thus, they were already established and partially acculturated by the time of the mass immigration. It was probably these earlier Finnish arrivals, rather than the Cornish themselves, from whom later Finnish immigrants adopted the pasty.

The gradual development of a Finnish-American culture drew not only upon Finnish and mainstream 'American' culture but also upon the cultural traditions of other ethnic groups with whom the Finns came into contact. The appropriation of the Cornish pasty by Finns in the U.P. is one of our best examples of this process.

The transformation of Finnish immigrants to Finnish-American ethnics was, of course, a very gradual process. It involved not only the adoption of cultural practices from both mainstream American culture and other American ethnic groups, but also an amalgamation of diferent regional traditions from Finland. Many Finnish immigrants no doubt had their first experience of certain Finnish regional dishes in the American context. The closest approximation to a pasty in Finland are piiraat and kukko, dough-enveloped specialties filled with meat, fish, vegetables, rice and so on, varying in size from individual turnovers to large loaves.[9] The existence of these somewhat similar foods may have meant easier adoption of the pasty for those unfamiliar with it. How was a Finn newly arrived in America, upon seeing a pasty in the lunchpail of a fellow contryman arrived some twenty years before, to know that this was not merely a regional variant of food he was already familiar with? Thus, many Finns came to believe the pasty was of Finnish origin. In the same way, some Italians in the U.P. regarded the pasty as Italian.

While, on the one hand, regionalization meant general participation and sharing in a food tradition, pasty has, at the same time, maintained a sense of ethnic propriety. By and large, Yoopers know the Cornish origin

of pasty, particularly now, because of education and mass media. Some even refer to it as a 'Cousin Jack mouth organ' (Cousin Jack being a popular synonym for Cornishman). On the other hand, the association of pasties with Finns cannot be ignored. Raymond Sokolov, a former Michigander and ethno-culinary journalist, writes of the 'Finnish flavor' of pasties.[10] Among U.P. Finns themselves, some individuals still regard pasty as Finnish food. This belief is perpetuated by family tradition, Finnish church suppers and annual Finnish traditional celebrations, where pasty is featured as a Finnish specialty. This association probably results from the importance of the Finns in the diffusion of the pasty, which is even further reinforced today by the predominance of Finns in the U.P. Many pasty shops, for example, seem to be owned and operated by Finns. On the other hand, family tradition is an important factor in the issue of propriety: pasty is first and foremost a family tradition. Yoopers make and eat pasties according to the recipes and tradition of their mothers and grandmothers. We know many Michigan Finns who were totally unaware that other ethnic groups also eat pasties. This is also particularly true of non-Finnish in-laws not from the U.P. who assume pasty is Finnish because the spouse's Finnish family serves it.

In the course of its transformation from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic, pasty in the U.P. has undergone a process from diversification to standardization and, finally, to rediversification. In Cornwall, as in the U.P. at the turn of the century, it has many possible ingredients: rice and leeks, egg and bacon, beef and potatoes, lamb and parsley, venison, fish, apple, and so on. The possible variants are endless, so much so that it is said that 'the devil never dared cross the Tamar River from Devonshire to Cornwall for fear of the Cornish women's habit of putting anything and everything into a pasty'.[11]

Whereas the old country pasty is a multi-variant food, the U.P. pasty became a standardization of but one of these forms. The range of variation narrowed to a basic mixture of meat, potatoes, onion, rutabagas and/or carrots. Although some variation remained, it could not deviate far from this particular combination and still qualify as pasty. Meat may consist of beef, a beef and pork combination, or even venison when available. Some may add parsley; a few omit both carrots and rutabagas. But today, the U.P. pasty has become this particular meat and root vegetable specialty.

One area ripe with variation, and controversy, is the crust. Crust recipes are usually guarded secrets. In Cornwall, pasty is made with either puff pastry or a crust similar to that for American pie; it is only the latter that is used in the U.P. The dough, according to Yoopers, should be light and short and hold together, yet not as flaky as pie crust. Its secret lies in the proportion of shortening and water to flour, and the type of shortening. Traditionalists claim that suet is the original and best shortening. Others use lard because it is more convenient and, they state, just as good as suet. With more emphasis on lighter foods, some now use vegetable shortening, which purists claim produces an inferior, tough and tasteless crust.

The pasty seal, another place for variation, is one of the few distinctive ethnic features. According to the older Cousin Jacks and Cousin Jennies, a 'real' Cornish pasty is sealed by 'making a rope', a particular method of tightly closing the dough, usually across the top of the pasty. In Great Britain, this is sometimes called 'the Cornish Crimp'. Todaya, few Yoopers - including Cornish - know this technique. Instead, most make a seal by pinching, folding or crimping the edge as they would for a pie. Those Cornish who do use 'the Cornish Crimp' take great ethnic

pride in doing so.

Another distinctively Cornish feature is the designation of each pasty with an individual's initials, which are made from dough and baked on one end. This serves to identify pasties made to suit individual likes and dislikes, e.g. omission or greater amounts of certain ingredients, and to mark leftovers of uneaten pasties for later consumption. It is still practiced by a few Cornish families in the U.P. In at least one other Cornish household, the code has been translated into toothpicks: one, two or three toothpicks stuck into the crust designate the child to whom it belongs.

Adaptation to the U.P. context has produced variations in pasty construction and consumption and in attitudes and values about pasty. Most Yoopers, for example, would agree in theory that for the best flavor, all ingredients, including the meat, should be chopped with a knife and layered: potatoes topped by rutabagas (and/or carrots), followed by onions, and finally meat, salt, pepper, and perhaps butter or suet. However, most pasties are made today with ground meat, usually hamburger or ground chuck, although most butchers in the U.P. still sell coarsely ground beef (with or without pork) labeled 'pasty meat'. In practice, ingredients are almost always mixed rather than layered.

Accompaniments and condiments with pasty have become highly variable with patterns strongly linked to family tradition. A great many Yoopers would not enjoy pasty without catsup. Other accompaniments are equally esential for some individuals or families: chow-chow pickles, crisp vegetables, tea, buttermilk, beer, tomato juice. Each has its advocates. These ingredients are not casual choices. Quite the contrary, one or several of these accompaniments is absolutely necessary to complete a satisfactory pasty meal.

Originally, the pasty was hand food. Its traditional shape, size and substantial crust attest to its function as a working person's meal, intended to be carried in a pocket or lunchpail. The 'real way' to eat pasty is to begin at the end, holding it parallel with the body so the juices keep the remainder moist. Increasingly, Yoopers eat pasty on plates with forks, a manner which expands its original function and opens the door to still more variations. Once pasty rests on a plate, it lends itself to innovations that some regard as abuse: its crust is broken in the centre, releasing its moisture and heat, and it is smothered with butter, gravy or other substances. Change also occurred in structure. Although the characteristic half-moon shape remained standard, some housewives (presumably not Cornish) began to save time by baking 'pasty pies': pasty ingredients baked in a pie shell with a top crust and served in wedges on plates. This was done at least as early as the interwar period and has increased in frequency since. Others have speeded up the process by making over-size pasties in the traditional shape, which are then cut in half to serve. Both of these unorthodox forms are reserved for family, never being utilized either for commercial production or for company dinners.

Some innovations are associated with particular ethnic groups. Thus, according to some sources, dousing pasties with gravy was begun in the U.P. Mennonite community. The accompaniment of pasties with buttermilk is said to be Finnish. Similarly, the replacement of rutabaga (considered Cornish) by carrots is said to be Finnish. This is hardly the case - many Finns use rutabaga and many non-Finns use carrots - but the stereotype remains, even to the extent that 'carrot pasty' is a derisive term for

Finnish-made pasties. It is commonly said of the pasty that 'the Cornish originated it, the Finns disseminated it, and the Italians improved it.' This apparently arose because some of the most popular pasty shops in the U.P. happened to be owned by Italians. No one we spoke to could attribute specific differences to Italian-made pasties. Only one Yooper designated his Italian mother-in-law's pasty as different from others, because she added hot peppers to the filling.

The first pasties available outside the home were sold at church pasty sales. Most probably these were first held at Methodist churches of the Cornish but have now long since been institutionalized by churches of all denominations in the region, including Catholic and Finnish Lutheran. In addition to raising funds, the church pasty preparation and sale is a social event. Despite long hours of work, participants speak of these activities both as enjoyable and as an effective way to initiate newcomers to church functions and U.P. tradition. In this context, knowledge about pasties is exchanged between individuals such that the church sale helps to maintain pasty tradition. Even women who bake their own pasties will buy at church sales. The product is regarded as 'homemade', and even as 'the real thing', because older women usually dominate at these affairs. Either they are deferred to because of their experience and age, or they themselves take a supervisory and authoritative role and actively monitor the work of younger women. Consequently, some young women are intimidated and hesitate to volunteer because of possible criticism about the way they make pastry. One of these guardians of tradition, a ninety-year-old Cousin Jenny, stated emphatically that she could not eat anyone's pasty but her own and those from her church because all others are only poor imitations.

Although there are many commercial pasty shops, opinions about them are mixed. Most Yoopers regard homemade pasties as better; nonetheless, most women who make pasties will buy them on occasion: when they need a large number, as for a wedding supper; when they go fishing or hunting; or, when they are feeling lazy or tired or rushed - like sending out for a dozen pizza elsewhere in the United States or running out for fish and chips in Great Britain.

The first commercial pasty shops began to appear just after World War II. Yoopers recall that in Hurley, Wisconsin, located at the Michigan state line and then known as 'Sin City', an entrepreneur baked pies in his kitchen and peddled them from bar to bar in the early morning hours. In about 1938, he opened a pasty shop. After the war, other shops appeared across the border in Ironwood. Today, pasties are made and sold in at least one place in nearly every community: special pasty shops, bakeries, restaurants, bars, fast food counters, ice cream stands, and grocery stores. They can be purchased hot, cold, partially baked, frozen and day-old.

The post-World War II period has brought drastic economic change to the U.P., and this has brought about consequent change in both function and form of the pasty. During earlier decades of industrial expansion in the United States, the U.P. experienced an economic boom. However, because growth was based on extractive industry - the primary production of iron, cotton and lumber - the area was directly and immediately affected when production fell off and the large corporations were pulled out by their absentee owners. The U.P. had been exploited and then abandoned. The economy began a gradual but steady decline about 1920 and, despite occasional spurts of activity, never recovered. The subsequent secondary status felt by Yoopers has contributed negatively to their self-image and has resulted in a group inferiority complex. Particularly after completion

in 1957 of the bridge allowing access to the U.P. from the South, the local economy has become reoriented toward tourism. One consequence has been the proliferation of pasty shops. Tourism is presently the major industry in the U.P., and the pasty figures large in the regional culture offered tourists by their Yooper hosts. Today, along a seven-mile stretch of highway going west from the bridge, at least thirteen pasty shops, advertising in three-foot high, glow-in-the-dark letters, exist to the virtual exclusion of other eateries. The personal names of the establishments, such as Granny's, Lehto's, DeRich's, Clyde's, assures strangers of a 'homemade' treat. The latest phase, then, in the evolution of the pasty in the U.P. is to become a regional symbol.

In historical context, the regionalization of pasty can be viewed as rhetorical strategy to enhance U.P. self-image.[12] According to Kenneth Burke,[13] one of the leading exponents of rhetoric as the art of persuasion, rhetoric embodies a message which is capable of imbuing individuals with heightened consciousness and of persuasion when materials are manipulated and ideas are asserted by aesthetic techniques to produce pleasure. Serving pasty to outsiders is a conscious, predictable act intended to impress them, and to persuade them about the quality of U.P. life. The acceptance of pasties by outsiders is symbolically a validation of Yooper culture in general.

The pasty's regional affinity is communicated by various means. Narratives regionalize pasty by emphasizing ties with occupation and environment. Legends tell of hardworking miners who warmed pasties on their shovels which they held over the candles of their mining lamps. Others claim that miners crried hot pasties wrapped in cloth or newspaper in their shirts and were thus kept warm on cold U.P. mornings and in damp, chilly mines. In turn, miners warmed their pasties as they worked. On the one hand, warm pasties undoubtedly are comforting next to the body in severe temperature. Hunters and fishermen, probably influenced by the legend, sometimes carry pasties this way. On the other hand, the physical exertion of mine work would certainly transform any pasty really carried this way into a crumbled mess.

Much of current lore about the pasty has to do with crust. Take, for example, a narrative that explains the origin of pasty:

> In Cornwall, the women searched for a good meal for the miners other than sandwiches; the men were tired of sandwiches. They experimented with potatoes, meat and onions wrapped in dough and were plessed with the result. It wss a whole meal in one. At meal time, the women brought their pasties to the mine and dropped them down the shaft to the men below. They didn't even break.

When a folklorist collected a variant of this in 1946, it was told in jest.[14] When we heard it in 1981, it was presented as fact.

The pasty as missile is a recurring motif in popular expression. Upon hearing the above legend, for example, one former resident of the U.P. expressed disbelief about its authenticity, but recalled that his own mother could toss her pasties into the air and catch them without breakage. Local cartoonists play with this same image. The text accompanying a comic strip produced in Michigan reads, 'Blue is the color of my dear gramma's skin. When standing by Superior old grampa pushed her in. She evened up the score, or so I was told, when she beaned him with pasty that was 9 days old.' The latest manifestation of all this was the First Annual Pasty Throwing Contest, held in April 1983.[15] It was sponsored by the owners

of a local source of pasties, the Finlandia Cafe and Bakery, who cited the U.P. belief that 'a good pasty can be dropped to the bottom of a mine shaft without splitting open.' The winner - a Cornishman, appropriately - made a throw of 155 feet, bringing him a trophy topped by a gilded pasty as well as a citation in the Guinness Book of World Records.

At the same time as pasties are offered as a symbolic representation of the region, manipulation of pasty lore is also utilized to express group boundaries. Folk terms, like 'gut buster' and 'ulcer bun', are used in a familiar fashion by Yoopers, thereby distinguishing themselves from outsiders. The shared knowledge of pasty characteristics which such terms imply is an expression of social solidarity. In-jokes, like referring to pasties at one shop as 'Catholic' because they are skimpy on meat, serves the same purpose. On the other hand, curious tourists identify themselves as outsiders when they inquire about 'pastiz', thereby providing more grist for the folklore mill. Yoopers never cease to be amused by this pronunciation and the resultant confusion with the acouterment for striptease dancers. Nor do they tire of recounting such incidents and ridiculing the outsider, who otherwise contributes to the Yoopers' negative self-image. When a U.P. newspaper sponsored a contest for limericks about the U.P., the winning verse focussed on this widely-shared regional joke:[32]

> A Casper widow named Patsy,
> Earned her living by the selling of pasties,
> When a fudgy hasty demanded a pastey,
> Her response was rather nasty.

'Fudgy', incidentally, is a derogatory term used by Yoopers for other Michiganders. It is derived from yet another regional food specialty, Mackinac Island Fudge, which is purchased in great quantities by the outsiders.

The idea that pasty is unique to the U.P. is maintained in various ways. Residents' esoteric beliefs about the enigmatic pasty reinforce the symbolic regional meaning of pasty. For example, during and after World War II, many individuals and families left the U.P. for industrial centers in the Midwest and West. With them went the pasty. Numerous accounts are related about individuals who tried to start shops but were unsuccessful because, according to folk belief, people elsewhere were ignorant of pasty. Similarly, one pasty shop owner in the U.P. delights in telling of all the problems he has when he orders matches printed with his shop's name and address. Invariably, printers who are not local change pasty to pastry.

Detroit, however, is another story. Very large numbers of Yoopers moved to Detroit to work in the automotive industry and as a community developed, their regional self-awareness heightened, possibly even before a sense of regionalism emerged in the U.P. itself. At such times, knowledge of regional esoteric folklife fosters self-conscious awareness of membership in a regional folk group and the pasty was an important part of this. Thus, Detroit became the home of a U.P. social club, a Finnish social club - dominated by a U.P. clique - and an Episcopalian church whose congregation is almost entirely Cornish Yoopers. Like their friends and relatives in the U.P., these groups continue U.P. customs of fund-raising pasty dinners and bake sales. Pasty shops owned by former

Yoopers have been part of the Detroit scene for decades. According to one of these owners, about ninety percent of his customers are from the U.P. or have spent considerable time there.[17]

> That's where the pasty came from. It didn't come to Detroit from Cornwall, but from the U.P. Pasty is the tie to the U.P. Invariably, a customer will tell me he's from the U.P., as if that's any surprise. I certainly didn't think he was from Alabama!

The same informants who recall business failures thirty years ago are now predicting that pasty shops will soon exist all over the United States. America's Bicentennial, with its emphasis on local and ethnic pride, was a significant catalyst in this process. The change of mind was also influenced by the designation of 24 May as Michigan Pasty Day by then Governor Romney in 1968. The media have played no small role in the new consciousness. Newspapers all over Michigan feature articles about pasty in the U.P. At least one such story, 'U.P. "Adopts" Miners' Meal', sparked a long and heated debate in letters to the editor about what constitutes a genuine pasty.[18] In 1979, WLUC Television in Marquette, Michigan aired a short promotional apot, 'Stay for It', with local folk historian Frank Matthews.[19] Looking like a stereotypic miner, this elderly Yooper informs viewers about pasty's Cornish origin and function. This program was an attempt to build regional pride by stressing pasty's aesthetic qualities and its historical and occupational tie to the U.P. As Mr Matthews bites down on a tempting pasty, he urges viewers that 'pasties are part of the Upper Peninsula heritage and that's why you should stay for it and try one!' Finally, Yoopers are witnessing the pasty's increasing popularity among tourists; skiers, hunters, fishers, campers take twenty, thirty, fifty pasties home to freeze. Indeed, some residents now refer to the pasty aa 'U.P.'s contribution to American culture.'

The U.P. pasty that evolved in the early twentieth century remained relatively stable in form and content for many decades. During this period only a narrow range of variance was permitted. Popularization and commercialization, however, have led to significant changes in form. Earlier, one heard stories about people who put peaa into pasty secretly, knowing that their neighbors would not approve. Now aimilar 'violations' of tradition are openly admitted: pasty of kidney, pasty made with condensed onion or mushroom soup, pasty with gravy. These variants are still repugnant to many Yoopers and often are attributed to specific groups, i.e. 'it's those other guys.' Gravy, for example, is said to be Cornish by some Finns, Mennonite by others, or eaten only by non-Yoopers by general Yooper consensus. In all cases, these views are exoteric beliefs about 'them' and explain, in a fashion, a violation of tradition.

Commercial competition has been very instrumental in this movement toward rediversification. Both health food stores and a few standard pasty shops have begun to offer a vegetarian veraion, often with whole wheat crust. Other less-than-traditional versions are found in commercial establishments that cater largely to tourists. For example, in some restaurants pasty can be ordered with cheese, bacon or chili topping. Some pizza parlours offer 'pizza pasty' - pasty ingredients enfolded by pizza dough, much like the Italian calzone. Thus, the pasty, from its varied origin in Cornwall, which had become standardized within relatively narrow limits in the process of becoming Americanized, is now once again appearing in a wide variety of types.

Pasty always seems to have been a link between generations and between

different groups. But since the mid-1960s, it has emerged with new meaning, as a public, regional symbol that recalls the past, speaks of the present and implies the future. Connotations of history, multi-ethnicity, occupation, and region, as well as aesthetics and association with ritualized events have bestowed the pasty with new status. Hence, when pasty is spoken of, made, and consumed, the 'performers' also achieve status. To participate now in pasty foodways not only reinforces tradition, but is also a manifestation of regional membership. Regional identity is still strongly held in the U.P. and pasty eating (either at home or away) has become a way of demonstrating one's allegiance.

Identity, however, is a complex issue. Pasty has become symbolic of the U.P., but at the same time remains deeply rooted in ethnic and family tradition. Although pasty's ethnic association has become secondary to region, it continues to be available for Yoopers seeking to demonstrate their ethnic roots. There is, thus, a certain ambiguity regarding ethnic versus regional culture, but these associations need not be mutually exclusive. Identity is always contextual and these separate identities, existing as they do at different levels of organization, are seldom brought into conflict. At the same time that the pasty is an integral part of U.P. Finn or Cornish or Italian culture, the regional status of pasty is demonstrated each time it is served to visitors from outside. As Finns, Italians and Slavs of the U.P. each made the pasty their own, it became both the ethnic specialty of each and - first implicitly, later explicitly - a specialty of the region.[20]

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12. See Abrahams, Roger, 'Introductory Remarks to a Rhetorical Theory of Folklore', in Journal of American Folklore, 81, No. 320, 1968, pp. 143-158; and Jones, Suzi, 'Regionalization: a Rhetorical Strategy', in Journal of the Folklore Institute, 13, No. 1, 1976, pp. 105-120.
13. A Rhetoric of Motives, Prentice Hall, New York, 1950, p. 46.
14. See Dorson, pp. 107, 109, 117-118, for folklore collected about pasty. He also mentions the folk explanation of the origin of pasty on page 117.
15. 'Add rutabagas to a meat pie and you may end up in Guinness', in Ann Arbor News, 10 April 1983.
16. Published in The Pick and Axe, now defunct, in 1976. We collected the limerick from the author, who asked to remain anonymous. We have not located the original newspaper article.
17. Wayne State University Folklore Archives, 1970 (No. 119).
18. In Upbeat, the Sunday magazine section of the U.P. Times, Escanaba, Michigan, 16 April 1978. The debate continued sporadically until December 1979.
19. Mr and Mrs Matthews also served as informants for American Cooking: the Eastern Heartland, Time-Life, New York, 1971, pp. 25-29.
20. It would be enlightening but beyond the scope of this paper to compare the U.P. pasty with various other local and regional foods derived from a single ethnic group of the area. One of the best studied of these is Cincinnati chili. (See Lloyd, Timothy Charles, 'The Cincinnati Chili Culinary Complex', in Western Folklore, 40, No. 1, 1981, pp. 28-40.) Basically an elaborated version of chili mac with Near Eastern spicing of the chili, it was originated by Macedonians and is now disseminated almost entirely by Greeks. Nevertheless, it is thought of as a local food, devoid of ethnic connotations. And Cincinnatians utilize it symbolically in much the same manner as Yoopers do pasty. The beerock (a cabbage, onion and beef mixture enveloped in dough and baked) is popular food in all Volga Deutsch-American communities. But in Fresno, California it is now becoming a local rather than an ethnic specialty. Beerock shops, a recent phenomenon, are run by Armenians (another large group of the area) or by those without claim to a specific ethnic heritage. Spiedi (small skewers of grilled meat) are a popular food prepared in homes or served in bars of Binghamton, New York. Grocers there carry 'spiedi meat' and hardware stores offer 'spiedi skewers'. Judging by the name, they are of Italian origin (spiedini denotes a similar dish in Italy), but no one the authors could find in Binghamton was aware of the fact of origin. The Binghamton Italian community is eclipsed by the much more numerous Slavs.

THE EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRANT CUISINES

Christopher Driver

This paper, supplied at Alan Davidson's request, is really more in the nature of a serialisation extract. My book, The British at Table 1940-1980, will have been published eight days before the 1983 Symposium opens, and chapter five coincidentally addresses a theme very close to the topic of the Symposium itself, by discussing the social and culinary effects produced by the various immigrant cuisines which have arrived and taken root in Britain over the past thirty years or so. Copies of the book ought to be available at the Symposium as well as in Oxford bookshops, but it seems unfair that access to the issues raised, sensibly or not, should be limited to advance reviewers or unusually fast browsers. Hence what follows.

As symposiasts will know - it is indeed a prime reason for the existence of the Symposium - British cooks and eaters over the past generation or two have been opened to the influence of three major culinary civilisations (Chinese, Indian, and Middle Eastern) and of several minor ones too. Chauvinists as we still are, we take less account of the influence that British foodways - methods and materials - will have had upon these immigrant cuisines themselves, and no account at all of the mutual cross-fertilisation that must be expected in the longer term. We still have much to learn about this process. Rather than attempt to summarise my account of the various cuisines themselves, and of the public face they present in restaurant operation, I reproduce here what I describe in the book as a 'very tentative' attempt to construct a kind of model for comparing the characteristics, and perhaps in favourable circumstances predicting the performance, of different immigrant cuisines lodged in countries friendly or hostile.

A recent stimulus to this attempt has been the anthropologist Jack Goody's discussion in his Cuisines, Cooking and Class (1982) of culinary differentiation and hierarchy in Eurasian cuisines, vis-à-vis the relatively undifferentiated cuisines of food cultures in his own professional field (Africa south of the Sahara). The practical significance of work of this kind should not be underestimated. For instance, restaurant critics and others have often noted the failure of black cultures (whether African or West Indian) to help themselves to economic self-sufficiency and cultural assimilation in Britain by opening restaurants and food shops whose appeal to their own people would gradually extend to the public at large. This deficiency has sometimes been attributed to a general want of entrepreneurial, capital-forming skills, or merely to material poverty at an earlier period of their history. Poverty as such in a country or a people might be thought almost as likely to stimulate culinary skills as it is to stifle them, unless it included a serious shortage of fuel - and fuel economy, as it happens, has long been forced on most Chinese and Indians. The curious air - at once self-conscious and desultory - that pervades the few African and Caribbean restaurants that exist or have ever existed in London should rather send inquirers looking for deeper causes in social organisation and perhaps role division between the sexes. Factors of this kind have not yet worked their way out of Africa-based cultures (if indeed they ever will, or should). For instance, in the tribes studied by Goody, no male chef class has evolved, because even in a chief's house the cook is also the sexual partner.

Any attempt to classify such diverse social institutions as foreign restaurants with contrasting styles of cooking and ethnic origin must be highly speculative and arbitrary. But there do seem to be certain characteristics which immigrant cuisines and food cultures possess less or more of; and the categories themselves may be easier to think about if they are anchored to actual styles which can be found and with pleasure examined in the streets of London.

1. The first question to ask is the extent of differentiation in each cuisine, first on its home ground, and second in its adopted country. I owe this concept of differentiation to Goody. Differentiation within a people's cooking may arise from hierarchical divisions (with rich and poor man, noble and peasant, eating different foodstuffs, or the same foodstuffs differently prepared); from regional variety in produce, recipes, or both; from the allocation of different foods to different ages or sexes; and so on. A balance has to be struck if such variable factors are to be used to measure differentiation, bearing in mind, for instance, that in France children eat grown-ups' food and in America grown-ups eat children's food; that Italian food is differentiated by region and Indian food additionally by region and caste. It must also be borne in mind that the differentiation that a cuisine exhibits on its own home ground may not survive export to this country: Mediterranean styles seem to be more vulnerable than oriental ones to British stunting and stereotyping.

2. The second variable is propensity to evolve. Here again, different types of influence have to be considered in different cases. For instance, American market-place cuisine evolves, but not necessarily in directions dictated by culinary logic and economical supply, as it did when Chicago was built on the hog. There are exceptions: Californian cooking responds to the state's copious production of exotic fruit and vegetables. But American food culture now responds more readily to new, often deliberately created appetites and life-styles that originate outside the catering trade altogether. America also tends to iron out or put its own gloss on imported food cultures, unless they are as deeply rooted as Jewish in New York or Chinese in San Francisco. The marketing man proposes and the chef disposes: in the phrase 'TV dinner', television is the master, dinner the slave.

Chinese cooking is also evolutionary, but in a different sense. Marketing considerations are normally missing. A Hong Kong meal (this is sometimes also said about the Lyonnais) is a statement to which customers are secondary. The cuisine of the leading Chinese creators evolves on a day-to-day basis without ever being written down.

Antitheses of both these styles are the Cypriot, which barely evolves at all, and the Japanese, which is class-stereotyped in business communities abroad, but on its own ground is classically subtle and various, capable of evolution within certain limits.

3. Imitability, the third variable, is usually a function of the printed word. In America, and more recently in Britain, television and video demonstrations of different culinary techniques and styles arouse the interest of cooks who seldom read or use printed recipes. But their ultimate effect - as Delia Smith, Madhur Jaffrey and other popularisers discovered to their profit - is to multiply sales of books, which are easier to consult while a meal is actually being prepared. An entire cuisine can leap from obscurity to ready imitability with the publication

of the right reference book, as happened with Claudia Roden's A Book of Middle Eastern Food when the Penguin edition appeared. Chinese cuisine, a bigger subject and a more demanding technique, has publicists and annotators but no expositor in Britain worthy of the richness of the subject and the complexity of the materials and techniques involved. India has lately been better served.

4. Accessibility to strangers, the fourth question to be raised, is a factor more cultural than culinary. Physiologically, man is an adaptable animal, and what he eats somewhere could in principle be eaten almost anywhere. But psychological, historical, religious and tribal factors often count for more. The Chinese have actual physical difficulty in digesting unprocessed milk, and cheese. But the British are not less affected by psychological problems in contemplating the flesh of dogs and horses. And apart from the food itself, accessibility of the social kind is a factor of great concern to British customers contemplating a visit to a strange nationality's restaurants and expecting - it is our most American trait - to be received with warmth and cordiality, even if we suspect that the cordiality is thinly veneered. Yet here too there are contradictions. No one would call a Japanese restaurant - even one as individual and sympathetic as Ajimura in Covent Garden - stylistically accessible. Yet Japanese politesse is impeccable.

Again, Greek and to a lesser extent Turkish restaurants are popular with Britons at various social levels, but the underlying structure of Cypriot family life is carefully held back, and the jovial interaction between customer and restaurateur takes place at a very superficial level. This is also the case in Italian restaurants, where waiters often seem to have been trained to do the job as a substitute for thinking about it. In Chinese restaurants waiters are often rude, offhand, and deliberately uncomprehending until they have been shown reason - by patience and curiosity rather than abuse - to behave differently. Yet, as in French places of a similar character, professionalism can be depended upon by people who know enough to insist upon it.

Ambitious British cuisine itself is singularly inaccessible by this criterion, short of an invitation to private homes or a club in St James's, for the few urban restaurants that find it worthwhile to specialise in British cooking are usually served by foreign nationals who understand neither the language nor the food culture they are trying to represent. (In recent years the Tate Gallery Restaurant's well-trained British female staff have been an honourable exception to this rule.) At popular level, as in pubs and fish and chip shops, British style is socially more accessible, but - again with honourable exceptions - the food less so. Malt vinegar, kept-hot chips, cardboard pies and frozen fish coated with thick batter are not tastes widely shared among the world's peoples.

5. Finally, vulnerability, the fifth variable, can also be viewed two ways. From the standpoint of a community relations specialist, rapid assimilation of an immigrant culture - and by extension, its cuisine - to the (British) host culture is theoretically desirable. But only social scientists with defective tastebuds actually think on lines like these, and anyway, even in this field other experts would now argue that in a fundamentally hostile social environment, an immigrant people that keeps its cuisine intact from British flavour-blur and similarly insidious forms

of social syncretism enjoys a better prognosis, communally speaking, than one that has let its historical identity go: it is a question of human dignity. However, most immigrant cuisines have now been lodged in Britain long enough for the symptoms of resistance or surrender to be recognisable. Italians almost always surrender, not for want of quality in the ingredients or of skill in their treatment, but for want of self-criticism and out of an excessive desire to please. Americans, likewise, taste the customers, not the ingredients. Talented Frenchmen and Chinese know better, but often succumb to the commercial temptation presented by customers who don't know better and who can safely be fobbed off with something that sounds right, however it tastes. In the kitchen, pride protects the Japanese, religion the Jews and the Hindus, competition the Cantonese and habit the Cypriots. Put the British in a similar situation and their cuisine, in its turn, might be protected against the influence of its host culture by the familiar combination lately identified as the Falklands factor: instinctive patriotism combined with resolute ignorance.

AUSTRALIA'S FOOD CULTURE ORIGINATED IN ENGLAND

Lionel Stone

For reasons which have been adequately examined in other places, by 1770 England was exporting about 1000 convicts per annum to various penal colonies. Transportable misdemeanours seem trivial to us today, and it's probably fair to suggest that the majority of 18th century felonies would be punished these days by six months' imprisonment, or even a good behaviour bond.

But 18th century English morality was altogether different; imprisonment and the lash were the order of the day. The period of detention varied, not in relation to the gravity of the crime but to the judge's temper. Incarceration might be ordered for 7 or 14 years. And sometimes banishment was added to the imprisonment sentence, and the period of this extra atonement depended on the judge's whim. Banishment for life, of course, meant that the convict could never return to England, even after his sentence had been completed or commuted.

James Cook had carried out some exploratory work along Australia's eastern coast in 1779, and noted English botanist Joseph Banks was so impressed by the unusual flora of a certain large coastal inlet that he named it Botany Bay.

The unsatisfactory (from their point of view) outcome of the American War of Independence forced the British government to select a site for a new penal colony. Botany Bay was eventually chosen because its remoteness would discourage escape by the prisoners, and make their return to England after completion of sentence unlikely. A secondary advantage was a British foothold in the South Pacific, and perhaps a profitable trading post.

On 18 August 1786, Lord Sydney of the Home Office wrote to the Lords of the Treasury intimating His Majesty's pleasure that ships be provided to carry 750 convicts to Botany Bay, 'together with such provisions, necessaries and implements for agriculture as may be necessary for use after their arrival.'

This letter activated:

* the Admiralty, which was required to equip, man and officer the naval escort vessels, also the Marines who were to guard the convicts;
* the Transport Department, who were to organize ships for the convicts' transportation;
* the Victualling Department, who were responsible for all stores and provisions;
* the Treasury, who were to finance the entire Odyssey.

Thus six convict transports, 3 storeships and 2 naval escorts formed what later came to be known as the First Fleet, which sailed from England on 13 May 1787 under the overall command of Commodore Arthur Phillip.

The English press noted this event with a tremendous gust of silence, preferring to deal at length with the morganatic marriage of the then Prince of Wales to a certain Mrs Fitzherbert.

At that time the official weekly scale of rations for each man in the Royal Marines was fixed at:

Bread or ship's biscuit	7 lb.
Salt pork	2 lb.
Salt beef	4 lb.
Oatmeal	3 lb.

Peas	2 pints
Butter	6 oz.
Cheese	12 oz.
Vinegar	½ pint

Also, three quarts of fresh water were to be made available to each man each day.

The vinegar was intended as an anti-scorbutic. It's interesting to note that H M Admiralty had known since the 17th century that an ample supply of fresh vegetables and fruit, especially citrus, would prevent scurvy, albeit the reasons why were not understood at the time. And yet here we are (or were), 100 years later, attempting to fight the disease with vinegar.

The convicts' rations were limited to two-thirds of the official naval allowances.

Supplies of fresh meat, vegetables and fish were added to the regimen as they were purchased at ports of call during the voyage out.

It took eight months and one day for the First Fleet to sail the 15,062 miles to Botany Bay, where it arrived on 20 January 1788. Although seriously overcrowded, and despite the fact that after months of incarceration in English gaols many convicts were in ill-health when they first boarded, the remarkably low death-rate during the voyage has been attributed to the plentiful supplies of fresh food, the overall quality of the provisions and Captain Phillip's attention to detail.

In the late 18th century, a Berkshire (southern England) laborer, his wife and 4 children consumed each week:

8 large loaves	2 lb. cheese	2 lb. butter	2 oz. tea
½ lb. oatmeal	½ lb. bacon	2 pints milk	

while a Westmoreland (northern England) laborer, wife and children had to survive on:

8½ lbs. potatoes	¾ lb. butter	2 lb. sugar	2 oz. tea
1½ lb. oatmeal	¼ lb. meat	30 pints milk	a little treacle

At the same time, an Irish peasant family ate in a week:

52 lb. potatoes	40 lb. oatmeal	some milk
an occasional salted herring		

Meat was strictly festival food. The inmates of a Bedfordshire workhouse relished this interesting diet:

Breakfast: either bread and cheese, or broth.
Dinner: either boiled beef and suet pudding, or meat leftovers, or hasty pudding, or milk porridge.
Supper: either bread and cheese, or broth.

The normal beverage was beer, purchased wholesale. A pig lived on the kitchen refuse, and in due course the inmates lived off the pig. It was stated that the inmates ate better than they had in their former, civilian lives.

Such examples could be quoted ad infinitum, but I think the point is made that those who travelled in the First Fleet were fed on English foods, cooked in the manner familiar to all Englishmen of their class and in

slightly larger quantities than they would expect in civilian life.

The Botany Bay site lacked adequate supplies of fresh water, so Phillip detailed an exploratory party to locate a more suitable position. They soon discovered one a little to the north, and on 26 January 1788 Phillip and a few officers went ashore there; the commander read the royal charter which established him as Governor, the English flag was hoisted and some muskets were fired.

The new penal colony comprised:

The Governor	1	
His personal staff and administrators	19	
Marines (officers and men)	211	
Marines' wives	27	
Marines' children	19	
Convicts: male	548	
female	188	
children	17	
Total	1030,	of whom 215 were female

Thus it will be seen that from inception, and for a very long time during its formative years, ours was a male-dominated society. Men outnumbered women by some 5 to 1, in contradistinction with the USA, which was populated by <u>families</u> (Mayflower carried 101 men, women and children - all civilians). Our overwhelmingly masculine population generated social attitudes still evident in our mores and outlook, in our cooking and eating habits.

It had been H M Government's intention that the new penal colony become self-supporting, as noted in Lord Sydney's letter to the Admiralty (op. cit.). Furthermore, the Instructions to Phillip dated 25 April 1787 ordered him to 'proceed to the cultivation of land for procuring the supplies of grain and other provisions', but unfortunately his means of putting those Instructions into effect were limited - no one had thought to include a plough in his stores!

Of the entire community, only three people had any farming knowledge: Phillip himself, who owned a farm in Hampshire, his personal servant Dodd and convict James Ruse.

Who, then, were to be the procurers of the food which would enable the colony to become self-sufficient in food?

The colony then comprised:

* military personnel, trained in killing and not normally associated with the production of life-sustaining food;
* convicts, urban offspring of a long-dispossessed peasantry; the offcasts of English slums, they were devoid of agricultural know-how. Swept up by forces beyond their control, they'd left their country for their country's good.

Both military personnel and convicts sprang from the same social class - unskilled urban laborers; so their arrival in Australia with the classification of Marine or convict was totally fortuitous.

Livestock brought from England included sheep, pigs, goats, turkeys, geese, ducklings, pigeons and quail. Various agricultural seeds were also brought: these stores were reinforced when one bull, one bull calf, seven cows, one stallion, three mares, three colts, 44 sheep, four goats, 28 boars and breeding sows, also such plants as oranges, lemons, tamarinds,

figs, bamboos, sugar cane, vines, quinces, apples, pears, strawberries and the seeds of rice, wheat, barley and maize were purchased at the Cape of Good Hope.

Phillip set the initial weekly adult ration at:

7 lb. flour	7 lb. beef or 4 lb. pork
3 pints peas	6 oz. butter
½ lb. rice	

The stores had been originally intended to suffice for two years, after which H M Government had assumed that the colony would be self-supporting. However, a stocktaking in September 1788, only 8 months after arrival, revealed that the foods would last as follows:

Item	Weeks expected to last
Flour	52
Rice	15
Beef	43
Pork	128
Peas	58
Butter	49

Off-duty Marines were encouraged to fish, but the absence of suitable small boats didn't help. Quail, pigeons and some fruit trees throve in the new surroundings, but certainly not in sufficient quantities to affect the volume of food available to sustain more than 1000 colonists.

Although they didn't enjoy the highly-developed civilisation, especially cultivation and cookery techniques, of the North American Indians, the Aborigines could have taught the white men how to survive in the Australian environment, how to hunt badly-needed game and how to treat indigenous foods so that inherent deleterious matter was eliminated. The Aborigines could have taught all this knowledge, and indeed did so whenever any whites would listen to them. But in the main the whites had only contempt for the original Australians and their 'blackfellow tucker'.

White efforts to find food in the Australian bush were unsuccessful and the strange appearance of the local flora and fauna was off-putting to them; the whites expected their food to look familiar. Only under stress of great necessity did squeamish English stomachs occasionally manage to successfully ingest 'wild spinach' and the leaves of the cabbage-tree (Appium ammi and Tetragonia expansa respectively) and they brewed an occasional infusion from the leaves of Smilax glycophilla, the sweet-tree plant.

The fruits of Leptomeria acida looked like white currants, and were thought to be anti-scorbutic, but were only available in comparatively small quantities.

But by and large the settlers expected a diet based on bread, meat, butter and cheese - the food to which their class were accustomed back home in England. The absence of fruit and vegetables from this regimen conforms to the typical absence of those foods from the diet of the 18th-century English working class, especially the urban working class of that time.

Phillip's despatches 'home' to England repeatedly begged for men with a knowledge of how to cultivate the soil. 'If 50 farmers were sent out with their families they would do more in 1 year in rendering this colony independent of the mother country as to provisions, than a thousand convicts.' With rare sagacity, H M Government sent him more convicts, but

this time inadequately provisioned for a lengthy stay, which only exacerbated the problems of an already inadequate food supply. Repeated reductions in the official scales of rations were inevitable, for some time.

Meanwhile the white settlers muddled along unencumbered by the strictures which any knowledge of agriculture would have imposed. Land chosen for cultivation was quite unsuitable and lacked adequate supplies of fresh water. Seeds were sown without first acclimatising them to antipodean conditions. Crops were attempted on soil which lacked animal manures; and so the land returned very little, for a great deal of hard work.

Very slowly, by trial and error, amateurs developed agricultural techniques so that the colony became self-supporting in vegetables, especially when the fertile areas adjacent to the Hawkesbury River, at Parramatta and Norfolk Island, were discovered. The introduction of maize was particularly auccessful. Free grants of land to officers and privates, emancipated convicts and the few free settlers proved more productive than the Government-owned farms worked by convicts as slave laborers.

But cereal and vegetable crops take time to grow to maturity, even if properly cultivated. Thus, cultivation at Parramatta commenced in November 1788, but most of the convict labor force were too ill, through scurvy, dysentery and the lassitude induced by starvation-sized rations to work effectively, even if they'd known how. The first successful attempt at self-sufficiency was the 1789 harvest at Rose Hill, which produced 200 bushels of wheat and 60 bushels of barley, or about ¼ bushel per person per annum.

Most of the imported livestock had either died from natural causes, escaped, been stolen for rations or killed by dingoes, the only native Australian carnivore. But pigs and poultry continued to do well.

On 1 November 1789 the weekly ration was reduced to:

Bread or flour	4 lb. 10 2/3 oz.	
Beef	4 lb.	OR pork 2 lb. 10 2/3 oz.
Peas	2 pints	
Rice	2 1/3 oz.	OR 10 2/3 oz. flour

By the end of 1789 the rations, which had been by now standardized for all colonists - be they officers, enlisted men, convicts or free - equalled about 2000 calories per day. These foods were by now very old stores, which had left England about 2½ years previously. Such old pork shrank by nearly 50% when boiled, and the cereals were infested with unwelcome little strangers. The beef was now so old that, instead of boiling it, the colonists toasted the day's ration before a fire. Any drippings were caught on a slice of bread or a saucer of rice. Flour was boiled together with the peas rather than bake it into bread.

The largely unprovisioned Second Fleet arrived in 1790, which appears as the hungriest year experienced by the settlers and a rebuttal of the suggestion that necessity is the mother of invention. No attempts at improvisation are recorded, and the black man's know-how was still shunned. The miserable conditions of life in the colony were not alleviated by the drought which lasted from June to September 1791, but that year'a harvest, from the 405 acres under government cultivation, comprised:

4484½ bushels maize
638 bushels wheat
59 bushels barley

plus some unrecorded quantities of barley and oats retained for seed; at last the 4057 people then in the colony had made a start on the long road to self-sufficiency.

And from 1791 onwards storeships arrived regularly from England; supplies of locally-produced vegetables were reliably available, and fruit trees which had thriven unnoticed since they had arrived with the First Fleet nearly four years previously decided to fruit this year.

When Phillip left Australia on 11 December 1792, he bequeathed to the voluntary and involuntary settlers a diet based on flour, rice, salted meat, dried peas, butter and other fats - all dependent on the safe arrival of ships from England. Failure of these supplies to arrive, either because of disasters at sea or lack of English forethought, meant that famine conditions prevailed in the colony administered from Sydney-town.

If, instead of clinging to their original dietary pattern, the colonists had taken the trouble to learn from the despiaed Aborigines, they would have discovered a cultural system which ensured that the native population lived in harmony with their environment. The Aborigines' nomadic habits guaranteed that the tribe moved on before any particular area was eaten out, and that the indigenous flora and fauna had adequate time for replenishment before the next visit by humans.

They gathered vegetation, berries, roots; and they hunted game. Tribal songs compulsorily memorized by every youth in the tribe described the geographic features that indicated the route to the nearest place where underground water rose to the surface; in this driest of continents the cartographer's art was thus made redundant. And they made no effort to keep this knowledge secret from the white man, who unfortunately declined all opportunities to learn blackfellow lore.

If they had made such an effort, they'd have discovered that Aborigines didn't suffer from the diseases of vitamin deficiency, although they weren't substantial growers of crops. Among other vegetables, the blacks ate water lilies of the genus Nymphaea, whose tubers they baked, whose seeds they ground into flour, whose green stalks they boiled and whose tender parts they ate raw. They ate the cabbage-like leaves of Livistonia australis, also yams, including the three indigenous members of the genus Dioscorea, i.e. D. sativa which they called karro; the tubers of D. transversa (long yam) were eaten raw; and they actually cultivated D. hastifolia. The tubers of Vigna lanceolata, which may produce underground pods like the peanut, were available in Queensland. The white man took the familiar as his frame of reference and called these items 'wild potatoes', which they certainly weren't.

The first Australians ate much wild honey; their habit of sucking it off certain edible grasses caused their saliva to mix with the honey and thereby increase its digestibility.

These are some of the foods which the white man treated with contempt, but it was the white man with his bread, salt meat, black tea and sugar who contracted the vitamin-deficiency diseases, for example the white Australians who, as recently as 1915, died of beri-beri in western Queensland while the blacks remained unaffected. Part of the local blacks' diet was tripe, which they didn't clean as thoroughly as whites do before cooking. A certain amount of partially-digeated grass remained in the blacks' tripe, and this acted as a vegetable...

Aborigines ate fish, lizards, snakes, birds and any other game they managed to catch. Those whose tribal lands abutted the coast enjoyed cockles, oysters, whelks and other shell-fish, as well as numerous ordinary fish species. Boiling in water was well-known, of course; sometimes

lizards, fish and birds were left whole, singed on red-hot stones, wrapped in mud and baked in a shallow hole in the ground. Larger animals, such as kangaroo, dugong and turtle were cut up, the entrails removed, and hot stones placed in the cavity. The whole was then wrapped in paperbark or leaves and inserted in a hole. A paperbark cover ensured a complete seal, and hot ashes were raked over.

The coolamon was wood so hollowed out that it would hold water and/or food.

The Aborigines also ate wallaby, bandicoot, possum, koalas, flying foxes, wild duck, cockatoo, honey-ants, locusts, beetles, grasshoppers, moths and witchetty grubs, plus anything else they could catch. They ate the eggs of brolga, emu, scrub hens, ducks, geese, swans, mutton-birds, turtles and crocodiles; also the seeds, nuts, berries and fruits of mangroves, native figs, palm-stem pith, lily and fern rhizomes; the fungus Polyporus mylittae (blackfellow's bread), cycad nut, and the Moreton Bay chestnut which has never claimed kinship with European chestnuts and is quite contented to remain Castanospermum australe.

A hole would be dug, appropriate to the size of the food. Of course, wood was the only fuel, but black Australians were fussy about choice of wood because of the smell and taste which various varieties impart to the food they cook. Anyway, a fire was lit in the hole, and stones were heated. As much skin as possible was left intact on the food, to help retain the natural juices.

When the stones were red-hot and the fire had burned down to ashes, soaked wooden sticks were laid on, to hold the meat, which was placed skin-side down. Then more wet branches were laid over, and more hot stones positioned on them. By now the food was steaming, so a large sheet of paperbark was laid over, wet earth thrown on top and thoroughly patted down. A well-made 'oven' hermetically sealed in the heat, but escaping smoke indicated faulty construction. When cooking was completed the oven was carefully demolished so that no soil fell onto the food. The wet leaves' role was to impart flavor to the food, as well as to act as support.

Phillip had reported that some seamen became ill with violent vomiting after eating of a large fruit rather like pineapple - which didn't endear them to the native flora. The 'guilty' fruit was probably cycad, from which the natives used to leach out the poisonous juices, the real culprits in the case, by lengthy soaking in plain water.

As there were no peasants among the various consignments of convicts and officials which England sent out to Australia, there was nobody to apply the skills which cultivators acquire from centuries of experience. Indeed it has been strongly argued that by the 18th century the true English peasantry had already been extinct for some hundreds of years. Neither were any aristocrats shipped out here, mainly because as a class they were generally able to live well enough without descending into crime. This meant that the rigidities of a feudal system were by-passed, and an extreme degree of social mobility was permitted to develop in Australia; any person - be he free settler, emancipated convict, an officer (but not necessarily a gentleman) of Marines, a civil servant or a plain fortune seeker, could go up-country, select an area of grazing land and simply stay on it while his sheep and cattle bred for the Sydney market.

The First Fleet had brought peas, beans, potatoes and turnips from England in 1788, and all other foods eaten here were, with the exception of certain fish and wild birds, introduced to this country. Because of the wide climatic range embraced by Australia's sprawl between the southern

latitudes of 10 and 45 degrees, all species of vegetable and fruit including the tropical and sub-tropical are produced abundantly throughout the year. But because the first white settlers insisted on familiar English foods, because they preferred starvation to experimentation with indigenous foods, ours is the only continent which has failed to make any contribution to the range of culinary materials available to the generality of mankind, except the macadamia nut, for which the world must be grateful to Hawaiian enterprise.

King widened the range of vegetables when he introduced cabbages, radishes and onions here in 1800; but for a long time most vegetable production was for the personal use of the producer.

Free settlers started arriving here in 1793; they and emancipated convicts, also some Marines, received grants of free land, and were assigned convict labor to work it. Assignment was a form of slave labor, in return for food, clothing, and shelter, for no cash entered into these transactions. The convicts remained subject to Government discipline - as always, the lash remained the favorite means of ensuring respect for Authority. But assignment eased the strain on Government storehouses.

On the other hand, Government could reward good behaviour by a 'ticket-of-leave' which absolved the recipient from the usual convict labors; it even enabled him to obtain free grants of land which he could work for himself. Some convicts succeeded in making an honest living under this scheme, but as most had no agricultural experience many were soon compelled to sell out to wealthier settlers.

When the Napoleonic wars were concluded, demobilization and its concomitant post-war labor surplus resulted in a further influx of convicts to the colony. And the same circumstances intensified the migration of free settlers; but few women convicts were transported and up to 1840 the entire female population, convict and free, sometimes sank to 1 in 10 of the total poulation.

Most of the convicts had been adjudged guilty of 'larceny', such as shoplifting goods valued at more than five shillings; stealing goods valued at more than two pounds from a dwelling was a capital crime. Also, sentences pronounced at London's Old Bailey were more severe on petty theft and pickpocketing than those of other courts, because petty theft was more persistent in London, spawned as it was by the conditions of life in London's back alleys, than was the case in the countryside, where the most common crime was apparently the theft of food for survival. And amongst the convicts were a few political prisoners, those found guilty of forming trades unions, a few Irish emancipationists and the like.

The average town-bred settler lacked the knowledge, capital, agricultural equipment and draught animals necessary for success on the land. He soon fell into debt and was forced to sell his freeholding to a wealthier settler, usually a government official or Marines officer, such as Lieutenant John MacArthur who laid the basis for his personal fortune when he established merino sheep on land granted to him by Government.

Such officers and ex-public servants were no more skilled at farming than other colonists, but they enjoyed influence with the Government by virtue of their former positions in it. And many increased their capital by developing trade, especially that in rum, which at one time replaced money as the colony's currency. Also, cheap convict labor assisted the accumulation of capital.

At first these large-scale farmers concentrated on the supply of meat for the Sydney market, so long as the Blue Mountains constricted settlement to a narrow coastal strip. But these holdings were ideal for the breeding of

sheep for the sake of their fleeces rather than their carcasses, and the move towards wool production was enormously assisted when the discovery of a passage through the Blue Mountains enabled access to the seemingly endless plains west of the mountain range; the soil and climate which made matters difficult for agriculture were natural pasture, ideal for the production of wool. And England's industrial revolution, then in full flight, created an insatiable market for fine-quality fleeces. As it has been said: 'From wool came the economic impulse which opened up the Australian continent.' Exploration of the country was stimulated by the graziers, in search of more land for their ever-growing flocks, as they spread out from Sydney-town for up to 1000 miles - west to the Darling River, south across the Liverpool plains and northwards to the Darling Downs (no relation) - always looking for more country 'further out'.

Of particularly unruly temperament (they'd already deposed Governor Bligh because his policy ran counter to their economic interests) the graziers seized unoccupied land by the simple process of occupying it (squatting), minus the formality of paying for it. Despite Government strictures to the contrary, they sat tight (remained squatting) on their selections, which were generally too far away from the centres of administration for Government to do much about them; and so a new class was developed, the squattocracy, who were united by both a community of economic interest and contempt for the accident of parentage.

Thus Australia avoided small-scale peasant-style production, and proceeded straight into the capitalist economic system of large-scale agricultural production whereby first meat and then wool were produced with factory-like precision. Dingoes were the sheep's only natural predators, but the nightly folding of sheep was abandoned when perimeter fences were installed. And so shepherds were supplanted by boundary riders, whose reponsibility it was to maintain the fences in good repair; check the windmills which brought artesian water to the surface; hunt and destroy dingoes. They also assisted at the seasonal mustering of sheep for shearing, crutching, branding and dipping.

The only break in their lonely lives was the weekly visit to the homestead, alias Government House, to collect their allowances of 8 lb. flour, 10 lb. meat, 2 lb. sugar, 4 oz. tea, golden syrup, cream of tartar or other riser, some rice, and if he'd been a particularly good boy, some tobacco. By now these foods should be as boringly familiar to you, dear reader, as they were undoubtedly monotonous to the employee.

Little permanent labor is required to run a sheep station, but the seasonal task of shearing is labor intensive; so large numbers of itinerant shearers were required. The high-rainfall coastal strip of eastern Queensland is ideal for sugar-cane, and this industry employs large numbers of cutters during harvest-time.

The flat lands of South Australia were and still are ideal for wheat. Again, few permanent workers were required, but harvesting and threshing required seasonal labour. Drivers of bullock teams which brought annual supplies of tea, sugar, flour, golden syrup, tobacco and so on to the far-flung outback station homesteads also obliged by taking the wool clip or wheat crop to the nearest port, perhaps 1000 miles away, on their return journey. Or part of the journey would be covered by riverboats where geography permitted.

The great cattle stations, mostly in the Northern Territory, raise huge quantities of beef, mostly for export. Stockmen are permanently employed as boundary-riders, windmill checkers; they brand calves, and assist at the annual muster of cattle from the open range. Once herded, specialist

drovers drive them the perhaps 1000 miles to the nearest meatworks or fattening depots; the day's journey was only to the next bore-hole of arterial water, for cattle must drink regularly (unlike sheep which obtain sufficient liquid from the grass they consume); so the drovers lived on the job for perhaps 3 or 4 months at a time.

All these varied skills of shearing, harvesting and threshing, cane-cutting, bullock-driving and cattle-droving were, and largely remain, in seasonal demand, so a nation of itinerant but skilled workers was developed, who moved from job to job until the demand for their specialization was satisfied for one more year. As movement was usually by one's own two legs, it was imperative that all equipment and rations be easily transportable.

The well-dressed bush worker of whatever specialization carried his swag on his back; this consisted of a camp oven, frying pan, shovel, knife and axe all rolled up in his two blankets. Slung over one shoulder was a sugar bag which held his supplies of flour, tea, meat, sugar, cream of tartar or tartaric acid, and he held his billy can in one hand. A felt hat protected his head from the sun, and from its brim numerous corks were suspended by string. The purpose of these bowyangs was to keep the flies off your face. Further protection from these pests was provided by the jacket with full-length trousers with more string tied round the legs to prevent flapping and/or the entry of flies where they weren't wanted.

The custom of issuing free rations upon request, to any passing workman, became the unwritten law of the bush, for the consequences of refusal could be drastic - fences in first-class condition might suddenly collapse, contented cows might mutinously stray, and so on. And so a free distribution of food became obligatory during the 19th century, but the distributee was obliged to accept any job offered him and was honour bound not to appear in the same vicinity more frequently than was considered fair.

It will be noted that the 19th century bush worker's rations, except tea, were now locally produced but England-orientated. Tea was inherited from the white world's most enthusiastic nation of tea drinkers. Flour for the staff of life, and meat, were eaten when the wanderer made his nightly camp. The choice of camp site was important, as it must be near to fresh water in a stream or water hole. A water hole is a natural depression in which some rainwater or riverwater remains lodged. Experienced bushmen (the bush is everywhere in Australia that hasn't been sufficiently closely settled to become urban - rural features are irrelevant) learned the Aboriginal technique for clearing muddy water, i.e. drop in some wood ashes which make the impurities sink. Or the same effect could be achieved by a couple of spoonfuls of flour, or even a (necessarily very little) Epsom salts.

Tea is easily transported, of course, and copious quantities of liquid were necessary after a full day's working or tramping in the hot sun. The importance of tea was such that the name became gradually transferred from the beverage to the evening meal itself. In fact the main meal is still 'tea' to most thoroughbred Australians; 'dinner' is a very trendy recent innovation or an indication of Australia's growing sophistication.

Itinerant workers, en route to the next job or the gold fields, travelled in couples, for the harsh countryside demanded that one person be always available to seek assistance in case of accident - and so the Australian tradition of mate-ship arose. Their typical meal consisted of damper; sweet, black tea; and stewed, fried or roasted mutton. After the meal the men sat around the camp fire and yarned the time away. In those conditions

of few amusements and fewer musicians the telling of every yarn or story was an important event in itself - unless you'd already heard it. So, heaven help you if you passed off another man's tale as your own.

These yarns, real and imaginary, became the foundation of Australia's national culture; which explains the anomaly that the nation which chose to adopt a deprecatory, shame-faced, self-consciously apologetic but manly approach to eating and drinking produced a national literature which is remarkably informative about the gastronomic aspects of its life-style. For example, the bush ballad with its refrain:

> With me little round flour bag - sittin' on the stump,
> Me little tea an' sugar bag lookin' nice and plump.
> With a nice fat cod-fish just off the hook
> And just a few, not many, murphies that I shook,
> And me four little Johnny Cakes... I'm proud to be the cook.

Many of Lawson's stories describe the endless battles between the shearers and their cook, such as 'Blue Stew' and 'The shearing of the cook's dog'.

The original vessel for brewing tea in the bush was the English quart pot, made of tinned steel and complete with side handles; about 1850 it was superseded by the tin 'billy' equipped with a lid and a wire handle which facilitated suspension of the device over the fire, so that it became blackened in use. A 19th century bush ballad is devoted to honoring someone's old black billy:

> ... I always find, when shadows fall,
> That my old, black billy's the best mate of all.

Traditionally, a handful of tea was thrown onto the boiling water. It was encouraged to sink, and so commence the brewing process, by whirling the billy in a full circle, at the end of your fully extended arm, so that centrifugal force drove the leaves to the bottom.

An optional flavor-adder: stir with a gum-tree twig. Any leaves still floating on top were encouraged to sink by gently blowing across the surface. Milk was unavailable in the bush, unless you were lucky enough to arrive at a dairy farm, so the tea was inevitably black.

The billy had other uses in bush cookery, such as boiling vegetables and stewing meat. The name derives from the Aborigines' 'billa', a creek or stream, and so by transfer the billy was so named by virtue of the water it so frequently boiled.

Yeast as we now know it was not available in 19th century Australia, or even in 19th century England; neither was there any brewer's barm, for breweries didn't yet exist in this country. But the British were then using such other dough risers as soda bi-carbonate, cream of tartar and tartaric acid, long before the advent of both baking powder and baker's yeast as we know them. Columbus took sourdough with him on his 1492 voyage to the West Indies. This is a self-perpetuating mixture of flour, sugar and water. It became identified with America's white settlers by way of those Alaskan prospectors who carried it in pots tied on their backs. But I doubt that this mixture would have survived in Australian conditions. At all events, I can find no record of an attempt to use it as a riser.

Actually, Australian itinerant workers developed a bread-making technique specially adapted to Australian conditions of an itinerant lifestyle. Plain wheat flour was mixed with water and tartaric acid or other riser, on

the blade of a shovel, and then kneaded into a flattish round of dough, about 2 inches thick and up to 2 feet in diameter, then placed into a hole in the hot ashes. More ashes were raked over and the dough cooked to a crisp crust. After about 20 to 30 minutes, escaping steam caused tiny cracks to appear in the crust, and if cooking was completed the damper would sound hollow when tapped. An alternative method was to punch a hole, with your fist, in the flour in its bag, and pour a little water into the resultant depression. You used a stick to draw, by stirring always in the same direction, more flour from round the edge. The resultant dough was then lifted out and baked as outlined above. This method left the remaining flour snug and dry in its bag.

Damper didn't keep, so it was made fresh for each meal. It could be cooked satisfactorily in a camp oven, if you could spare that utensil from other duties. The name 'damper' is possibly influenced by the damping of the flour as the first step.

Australian literature records numerous complaints about damper's indigestibility. But there is no record that a meat mallet was ever used as a tenderizer.

The basic damper mixture could be given any of four other treatments:

* Johnny Cakes (nomenclature uncertain) were small dampers cooked very slowly in a frying pan which had been dusted with flour to prevent burning. Tossed over in the pan to cook on both sides, when almost ready they were stood against a stick near the fire to finish cooking, while another 'cake' went into the pan for attention. This is strongly reminiscent of the Irish branar or hardening stand, made of wrought iron or even suitably shaped twigs, and against which thin loaves of unleavened bread were set to toast.
* Sinkers were small balls of damper dough which were added to the stew, or, if some fat to bind were added, they could be boiled as dumplings for addition to the meat course. Alternatively, they could be eaten hot, preferably with golden syrup. Perhaps the name derived from the probablity that they wouldn't go down?
* Leather-jackets were small Johnny Cakes fried in whatever fat was available.
* Devils-on-the-coals were very small balls of damper dough baked like an ordinary damper. These were small so they cooked in just a few minutes and were helpful when you were very hungry.

For hundreds of years the English had known the skillet, pipkin or posnet, which was like a small cauldron fitted with a handle and three legs to help it stand in the hot ashes. By the end of the 18th century it was about 7 inches in diameter and boasted a 10-inch handle. This model held about 3 pints. (The frying pans, or spiders, of that time were shallower, with shorter legs but longer handles, so that the cook could stand further from the fire.) The skillet's lid enabled more hot embers to be piled on top, so you obtained both top and bottom heat. 'All sorts of things were baked in this way, including bread, cakes, puddings, fish and stews (in England).' Pioneers in the USA knew this utensil as a Dutch oven, but the simple Australian term was camp oven, in which their meat could be stewed, sometimes their damper was baked and/or their fish boiled. But the cast-iron English utensil proved too brittle for an itinerant life, so in this country they were eventually made from pressed steel. Such was the Bedourie oven, named for the town where they were manufactured.

Here again we see the English influence on Australian utensils as well as on our cooking styles.

Three unrelated Australian birds were used for food by white Australians, chiefly because they looked familiar, in a superficial sort of way:

* the plains or wild turkey (Eupodotis australis) is really a bustard
* the brush or wattled turkey (Alecutra, family Megapodiidae, order of Galliformes)
* the scrub turkey or native pheasant (Meleagris lindesayi)

None of these are true turkey, but as a famous Australian saying goes, 'near enough is good enough.'

In this antipodean continent, where June means wintertime in the south and they play cricket during those same 'dry' months in the tropical 'top end', where Christmas occurs during high summer and where people ski on the slopes of the Australian Alps between June and September, and there are other peculiarities such as football during the tropical 'wet' because the ground is too hard for that game during the 'dry', further out means deeper inland. The general movement of settlement was away from the coast and its fish, further outback into the dry heart of this driest of continents; so the squatters and their employees ate very little fish, which was and remains a pity.

Because many indigenous fish bear a superficial similarity to European varieties, they were familiar enough to be eaten by whites. Alleged similarities also affected the naming of fish species, which still remains a real dog's breakfast. Thus we find identical common names used for species which vary from locality to locality, such as Sillago maculata, which is known as whiting in Victoria and trumpeter in Tasmania. Conversely, morwong (Nemadactylus spp.) is also teraki in Victoria and black perch in Tasmania. The same species rejoices in being known as queen snapper in Western Australia, as sea bream in New South Wales and as jackass in South Australia.

Again, alleged similarity is reponsible for Murray cod, which isn't cod at all but Maccullochella macquariensis and a respectable member of the bass (Serranidae) family. The so-called Giant Perch is really Lates calcarifer and now famous as barramundi.

Luderick (Girella tricuspidata) is known as:

Blackfish in New South Wales,
Rockfish in Victoria,
Black bream in Queensland,
Sweep in Tasmania.

I don't think it's fished in Western Australia, whose pilchard (Aldrichetta forsteri) is known as sea-mullet in Tasmania, freshwater mullet in South Australia, and yelloweye in both New South Wales and Victoria. This tragi-comic situation, worthy of an Aristophanes, was deathlessly described by a well-known poet laureate, champion footballer and opening bat. I refer, of course, to good old Anon:

A blackfish is a Luderick, and a beardie is a Ling,
A jewfish is a Mulloway, and a prawn can be a king.
A Nannygai's a redfish, and a Morwong is a bream,
But a mullet is a mullet, and that's good enough for him.

- which helps explain our mullet, which isn't, and our pike, which never said they were.

Fish cookery was one area where white New Australians, in the persons of the swagmen, learned something from the black Old Australians. A cleaned whole fish was wrapped in gum-leaves and cooked in the ashes. When ready, the skin comes away with the leaves. Or a cleaned whole fish was covered

with a one-inch layer of mud kept in place by several layers of well-dampened newspaper. The parcel was then placed on the hot ashes and more hot ashes raked on top in true aboriginal manner. Again, when cooking is completed the skin comes away with the clay coating.

Not all swagmen were genuine seekers of employment - some made a point of arriving at a homestead at sundown, when it was too late to be expected to do any work. These 'sundowners' were notorious for their antipathy to work, but were dressed, equipped and rationed just like the genuine article. An incident where one such was accused of sheep-stealing inspired A B Patterson to compose the famous 'Waltzing Matilda':

> Once a jolly swagman camped by a billabong
> Under the shade of a coolibah tree,
> And he sang as he watched and waited till his billy boiled:
> 'You'll come a-waltzing Matilda with me.'
>
> Down came a jumbuck to drink at that billabong
> Up jumped the swagman and grabbed him with glee;
> And he sang as he stowed that jumbuck in his tucker-bag:
> 'You'll come a-waltzing Matilda with me.'
>
> Up rode the squatter mounted on his thoroughbred,
> Down came the troopers, one, two, three;
> 'Whose that jolly jumbuck you've got in your tucker-bag?
> You come a-waltzing Matilda with me.'
>
> Up jumped the swagman and jumped into the billabong,
> 'You'll never take me alive,' said he;
> And his ghost may be heard as you pass by that billabong:
> 'You'll come a-waltzing Matilda with me.'

To waltz Matilda meant to carry your swag, which was your blankets wrapped around the equipment as already described. This was also occasionally known as 'humping your bluey', a graceful reference to the dirty, grey blankets. Jumbuck was colonial slang for sheep, of obscure origin and unused by us modern city-slickers. The attitude to the squatter is evident, and the quality of his mount denotes his (assumed but probable) wealth, protected by the troopers or mounted police. The tucker-bag was the sugar-bag in which provisions were stored; tucker possibly derives from the English slang word 'tuck'. Sometimes, during a flood, a stream gouges out a new course for itself. This leaves the old course detached from the mainstream and no longer used by the river, or it may rejoin the river lower downstream. The name derives from the combination of the two aboriginal words, billa (a stream) and bong (meaning dead).

The Waltzing Matilda doggerel is usually sung to the tune of an old marching air once used by the British Army (it really is hard to get away from English influences, isn't it?); but western Queenslanders flaunt their independence by preferring their own tune.

Where life was more settled, say at a homestead or on the goldfields, meat was usually kept in a safe which protected it from flies. This device was often stood in tins of water to discourage ants, and strips of hessian dangled from a basin placed on top: in theory, the breeze dried the strips, which promptly absorbed more water from the basin, and so evaporation kept the safe's contents slightly cooler than the surrounding temperature. A more elaborate version might comprise both inner and outer walls of wood,

with charcoal between them, holes for ventilation, plus the slow syphoning of water to help keep the meat cool. In another elaboration, fabric strips conveyed water to the hessian sides nailed to a wooden frame. This device was invented by English charcoal burners, whose occupation kept them isolated in the woods for weeks at a time. Wrote Dorothy Hartley, ' ... the larder, or safe in which they kept their milk or dinners cool in hot weather is often found in the colonies ... ' These ingenious English contraptions were later adapted to Australian conditions; and thus English charcoal burners invented the prototype of the Australian device, the so-called Coolgardie safe. Another example of English influence on our utensils.

As the various Australian colonies gained the status of self-governing Dominions, they reciprocated by refusing more convicts from the Motherland. Thus the last consignment to New South Wales arrived in 1841, but the final shipment to Western Australia was made in 1868. In all, over 150,000 convicts were transported to Australia during the 80 years from 1788 to 1868, and the overwhelmingly masculine nature of these shipments of humanity left us with a largely male population who took especial pride in their masculinity - a masculinity expressed in the attitude to food of the 'this'll do you for now' style so prevalent in Australian literature of the 19th century, and which indicates a contempt for the sensual enjoyment of food as womanly weakness, also disloyalty to the male sex.

The proclamation of one's masculinity is also denoted in the contemporary sports and pastimes of those years: the quasi-deification of the quickest shoveller of road metal, shearer of sheep, tree feller and sugar-cane cutter all underscore the glories of an all-male society which made a virtue of enforced womanlessness. 'The Hairy Men of Hannigan's Halt' (Gavin Casey) is a splendid example of miners who luxuriate in their manhood, and the author went even further in his 'City of Men'. Even today, country fire-brigades, axemen and other all-male teams display their prowess and sheer masculinity at annual agricultural shows.

Bill Harney describes the quart-pot-boiling championship: 'The contestants would stand ready with their cooking pots, and at a given signal they'd start their fires, put on their pots and throw in their tea when the water boiled. Contests like this were widely held in Camooweal and other towns in the bush.' Harney discussed at length the various elements of knowledge and skill considered essential to good bush cooking - when bread must be baked early in the day; how to protect the fire from wind; the degree of heat to be expected from various woods; how to cope with flies and how to carry your suet so it won't go sour. The cook's badge of office at shearing or mustering time, when it was necessary to cater for large numbers of men, was the long wire hook used for lifting the lids off billy cans and camp ovens. If not satisfied with the job, he'd hang up his hook to indicate that he'd finished with its services. The expression 'to sling your hook' still means that you've resigned and are about to depart your present employment.

Chinese migration to Australia was a direct result of the cessation of convict transportation to Australia, with its resultant cheap labor. In company with most of the population, they too deserted their normal work and fled to the goldfields as these were discovered. To the Chinese, Australia became known as sun gum saan (New Gold Mountain) as against gow gum saan (Old Gold Mountain, i.e. California). The main sources of alluvial gold were situated in Victoria, in which State the Chinese population rose from 2341 in 1854 to 42,000 in 1859. As the alluvial gold petered out, the Chinese reverted to type and became market-gardeners, our

nearest-ever approach to peasantry, and small-scale producers of top-grade vegetables for the local market. And then restrictive and discriminatory migration laws forced a substantial decline in their numbers.

Meanwhile, H M Government was encouraging English families to migrate to Australia by paying a substantial portion of their fares; typical of the times, the owners of the 'Great Britain' advertised that their well-found auxiliary steam clipper would leave Liverpool on 15 February 1861, and that its passengers would be fed in accordance with this weekly scale:

	2nd class	3rd class	steerage
ship's biscuit	3 lb.	3½ lb.	3½ lb.
beef	1½ lb.	1¼ lb.	1¼ lb.
pork	2½ lb.	1¼ lb.	1 lb.
preserved meats and soups	2 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
flour	3½ lb.	3 lb.	2 lb.
potatoes	1 lb.	1 lb.	½ lb.
oatmeal	1 lb.	1 lb.	1 lb.
cheese	½ lb.	-	-
fish	¼ lb.	¼ lb.	-
raisins	8 oz.	8 oz.	8 oz.
suet	6 oz.	6 oz.	6 oz.
rice	12 oz.	12 oz.	8 oz.
sugar	16 oz.	15 oz.	12 oz.
treacle	-	8 oz.	5 oz.
tea	2½ oz.	2 oz.	1 oz.
coffee	2½ oz.	2 oz.	1¾ oz.
butter	12 oz.	6 oz.	4 oz.
mustard	½ oz.	½ oz.	½ oz.
salt	2 oz.	2 oz.	2 oz.
pepper	¼ oz.	¼ oz.	¼ oz.
jam	4 oz.	-	-
tripe	8 oz.	-	-
lime juice [at last!!!!]	6 oz.	6 oz.	6 oz.
peas	1 pint	1 pint	1 pint
pickles	¼ pint	-	-
milk	½ pint	-	-
vinegar	¼ pint	¼ pint	¼ pint

Also, three quarts of fresh water was to be supplied to each person each day.

('The First Class will be found with a first-class Table.')

Ship's personnel cooked and served these very English ingredients to the very English passengers in accordance with the foregoing scale of rationing, which presumably met the requirements of the Passenger Act 1855. I use the term 'very English' advisedly, for, as Dr E Smith reported to the Privy Council in 1863, the laboring classes of England then consumed each week:

	Agricultural laborers	Industrial laborers
bread	12½ lb.	9½ lb.
sugar and treacle	7.3 oz.	8 oz.
butter, dripping, suet	5.5 oz.	5 oz.
bacon or meat	16 oz.	13.5 oz.
milk	1.5 pints	1 pints
cheese	5.5 oz.	-
tea	.5 oz.	.74 oz.

And so once again the newcomers' preference for their accustomed foods was transported to Australia along with them; the English concentration on bread, meat, tea and sugar was easily transformed into its Australian context of damper, meat, tea and sugar.

Migration brought the male-female ratio into more civilized proportions, so that approximate parity was reached in 1881.

Women migrants married into the local population, and in due course went up-country with their husbands onto selections or whatever. This period is noted for the appearance of more permanent residences in the countryside, plus a certain stabilisation of living and cooking conditions. Kitchens started to come indoors, the women commenced to bake proper bread in proper ovens, and meat was now cooked on proper hearth-based fires in lieu of camp fires out in the open.

By the 1860s such comforts as portable freezing units appeared, and Australia's first-ever cookbook, by an 'Australian aristologist', provided instruction in such items as shin of beef; melted butter, mint, bread and apple sauces; garnishing with sippets, lemon slices and horseradish; and particular emphasis was placed on that most English of items, how to make correct gravy. Many pages were devoted to hot puddings of the plum, Nesselrode, Bakewell and bread-and-butter varieties. Much justice was done to custard, trifle and syllabub.

All the local fish, albeit inoffensive enough, were to be either fried, boiled or stewed, in the best Mrs Beeton tradition. Indeed, the aristologist's recipe for boiled cod is a précis of the 1861 Beeton formula, right up to and including the roe and liver garnish. Of course, the aristologist was writing about a member of the Serranidae family, whereas Beeton had card-carrying gadoids in mind, but near enough is good enough.

'What nicer dinner can the housewife put on the table than a piece of roasted beef or mutton with baked potatoes under the meat, or a Yorkshire pudding, or even both?' wrote the aristologist, who sounds very like any 19th century English food writer. And the recipe for boiled leg of mutton could well have been that savored by Sam Weller when he attended the soirée conducted by the snooty servants at Bath.

Hare is to be jugged, according to this most-English of cookbooks, as not adapted to Australian conditions, but the omission of both the red wine and the red blood is a delightfully 'Australian' concept.

The aristologist makes an admission en passant that some settlers had attempted to come to terms with the indigenous fauna, with a description of such dishes as pan jam (kangaroo tails roasted in their skins) and slippery bob (spoonfuls of a batter made with kangaroo brains, flour and water, fried in emeu [sic] fat) and an explanation of stuck-up cookery is given: kangaroo cutlets 2 or 3 inches wide and ½ inch thick are spitted on a clean stick about 4 feet long, sharpened at both ends. The stick is stuck into the ground near the fire, and a piece of fat bacon is impaled at the top

end. The bacon bastes the very lean 'roo meat.

These examples of bush cookery are accompanied by such witticisms as: 'requires a good appetite and an excellent digestion', and 'we cannot recommend this to the epicure', which leave me with no doubt that the local fauna were in fact much eaten in the early days, unless there was an alternative available, but that the whites reverted to English food as quickly as possible.

The aristologist admitted already in 1864 that such dishes, based on local ingredients, had then been unheard of for some 30 years, so the 1888 edition of Beeton with its references to parrot pie and other bush exotica was describing a 'bush cuisine' already defunct. This style of cookery, and its ingredients, died because the conditions which had given it birth and a short life - that is, the the scarcity of provision worsened by transport difficulties - had already been largely eliminated. This is typical of English ignorance about Australia at that time, an ignorance which referred to Australia by the generic term of Botany Bay, although as we have seen no penal colony was ever established on that site. In fact, the ignorance which could embrace with the term Botany Bay an area larger by far than the whole of Europe, could certainly be induced to believe that a parrot could not be boiled to pie tenderness without a brick first being softened in the cooking liquor.

Furthermore, Australians are not hippophagically inclined, whereas the consensus of opinion remains that the kangaroo is unsuitable for human consumption inasmuch as it's really a horse which was designed by a committee.

Late in the 19th century, Muskett wrote on the art of living in Australia: ' ... there are worlds of interest in the notable circumstance that Australia, a new and semi-tropical country, is now being peopled by the descendants of those who belonged to an entirely different climate. At the present time the old racial instincts are still actively powerful, and exert an influence diametrically opposed to the climatic surroundings; and as a matter of fact we are witnessing a struggle between our Anglo-Saxon heredities and our Australian environment ... of all the forces, that of climate is the most powerful ... to endeavour to resist climate is to attempt the impossible.'

He continued: '... the real development of Australia will never actually begin until this wilful violation of her people's food life ceases. With a proper recognition of existing climatic surroundings there would be an overwhelming demand for more fish food and for the creation of extensive deep-sea fisheries.'

Well, here we are today, more than 80 years later, still defying the climate in that we still cling to our English-inspired food culture, in that meat is still prominent in our diet; we still cling to the anachronism of a heavy, roast-turkey-based Christmas dinner, despite its advent in mid-summer; and we continued to disregard fish until the influx of post-war migrants persuaded us otherwise as its cost rose. In brief, the old racial instincts are still actively powerful, and we not only attempt but succeed in resisting our climate.

Not that Muskett was without sin, for his vegetable recipes deal substantially with the same items as does the 1861 Beeton, and his salads are no more imaginative than hers. In fact, in terms of his salads constructed from: beetroot and macaroni; eggs and curry; turnips and potatoes and so on, he is no closer to the demands of the Australian climate than are Isabella's. Furthermore, his suet and other puddings shout their cold-country origins.

Meanwhile, farmers' wives - isolated on their husbands' smallholdings - continued ther housewifely duties bereft of female companionship. It's rather difficult to form and attend a Women's Institute when your nearest neighbour is 50 to 100 miles distant, and you have to get there on horseback. So they sublimated their cravings for company in occasional gatherings of Countrywomen's Associations and periodic exhibitions of their culinary skills at agricultural shows. They also found an outlet in the columns of rural newspapers; these eventually became the favorite means of communicating special recipes, domestic experiences, housewifely problems and the like to other women in the outback. Perusal of, say, the Spare Corner in The Leader indicates the style of food women were producing in their rural kitchens of the late 19th and early 20th centuries - hams were cured and bacon smoked; jams and chutneys were prepared; bread and cakes were baked. And such was the reliance on English convention that apparently no one noticed the absence of plums in plum puddings.

A certain originality flavors the cooking of this period, such as the use of passion-fruit as a flavorer, and the lamington as a means whereby cake left-overs could be used up before the imminent arrival of another baking day.

The New South Wales Land Act of 1861 had helped unlock some of the huge grazing properties; new selectors were then able to purchase up to 320 acres, provided they resided on and cultivated or otherwise used their land; the development of railways assisted the new-style closer settlement in some districts.

The early industrialization of Australia took the form of assistance for our primary industries in one way or another, such as the canning of meat and fruits, which could then be shipped to England. Then the advent of refrigerated ships enabled the transportation overseas of those foods, together with butter and cheese. Industrialization also meant local production of such cast-iron implements as ploughs and harvesters. So wheat, previously raised with much manual labor, was now grown more efficiently. Wheat is peculiarly suited to very large-scale farming, in sections of about 1000 acres each, and the flatter the country the better. The flat wheat country of Victoria had been, previously, tree-dotted plains, so it was cleared as well as possible, but the tree-stumps (mallee roots) remained obstinately in place. And then came the invention of the stump-jump plough.

As stated, the treeless plains of South Australia were especially well adapted to wheat production; in that State an equitable distribution of land was ensured by law, which didn't permit it to be locked up into sheep runs which stretched to infinity. Furthermore, the South Australian wheatlands are conveniently placed by nature, comparatively close to the coast, so that shipment overseas was, and remains, easy.

Wheat farming was further mechanized by introduction of the harvester-combine which simultaneously strips off the ears of wheat, threshes, winnows etc. in the one continuous operation. Bagging is no longer carried out, for the wheat has been long since bulk-transported in specially constructed railway waggons to where it is bulk-loaded onto bulk wheat carriers. Superphosphate was and remains abundant, by courtesy of the ocean-ranging birds which had overlaid the islands of Nauru and Cocos with their droppings. Finally, Farrer and others bred the wheat varieties best suited to dry-farming.

Sugar-cane was grown in Queensland on large-scale plantations which used indentured (i.e. slave) labor from Southern Pacific islands. The eventual mechanization of the sugar industry meant that in this sphere also human

labor was replaced by machinery.

All of these developments combined to change Australia from an importer to an exporter of food before the end of the 19th century - mostly to the English market at that time.

Small-scale farmers, such as those depicted in the 'On our selection' series written by Steele Rudd, were generally English immigrants who came here with their wives, and learned the trade of farming whilst on the job. But their tendency to specialize precluded their classification as peasants. For by concentrating on the one agricultural product, say milk as detailed in the Rudd series, they were true cash croppers and very vulnerable to market fluctuations. In Australia the so-called mixed farmer doesn't cultivate more than a comparatively few hundreds of acres of wheat, in conjunction with a few (thousand) sheep which feed on, and manure, that year's fallow.

Relatively isolated, they gave rise, obliquely, to that peculiarly Australian creation, the country town, with its bank, couple of hotels (watering holes), primary school, stock and station agent, local newspaper, post office and telephone exchange, butcher, baker, railway station, blacksmith (now a service station, of course) and general store which comprise the straggling main street. For historical reasons, these services do not cluster around the parish church. In essence the Australian country town heads a district population of some 2 - 3,000, about the size of an English village. The general store's owner was a jack-of-all-trades and master of none. He sold groceries, hardware, galvanised iron and other building materials, harness, kerosene, candles, cloth, water-tanks, fly-paper, workboots and whatever.

* * * * *

I well remember the Englishness which prevailed in Melbourne between the two World Wars; the insalubrious aroma of fish-and-chip shops; the cries of the bottle-ohs as they announced their trade down the street; the itinerant knife-sharpeners, who provided the motivating power by energetically pedalling the back half of an unfrocked bicycle; and the voice of the rabbit-oh was heard in the land. (Oh, where have all the hawkers gone?)

Bread and milk were delivered daily but unhygienically to your home. Grocers' shops were redolent of strong cheese, pepper, spices, jam, kerosene, shoe polish, soap and raisins. Most foods were displayed in bulk, and the grocer weighed them out into retail quantities upon demand. I well remember the large blocks of butter which stood on the counter, and he'd cut off your ½ lb. with a remarkably accurate eye. He weighed out split peas, rice, flour and sugar as you watched, before scooping it into a brown paper bag. Potatoes were so cheap he refused to supply any smaller quantity than threepence worth.

Apples, pears, bananas, carrots, onions, green peas and again potatoes were the staple fruits and vegetables. An item which has long since disappeared is the greengage, a greenish/yellowish plum related, I think, to the reine-Claude. Shops, hotels and restaurants closed promptly at 6 p.m., for the staff, barmen and waiters all wanted to get home for their 'tea', the main meal of the day and taken in the early evening. It usually consisted of soup, meat and two veg, and a sweet. As I recall, parsley and mint were the only fresh herbs known.

If you required refreshment out of the home, there were tea-rooms which obliged with light refreshments. But the peculiarity was that you couldn't just order a pot of tea. You had to order, say, sandwiches, scones or

biscuits, with which the tea came as a non-optional extra.

Much tea was sold from bulk, but some was already sold in branded packets, and, as you looked out of the train window, large hoardings informed you in plain white letters on a mid-blue background that you were only 2, 1 or even ¼ mile from Griffiths' (Signal Brand) Tea, as you approached the city centre. Most coffee was a bottled 'coffee essence' to which chicory had been added. The labels bore the likeness of an alleged Turk, who announced the Mustapha brand.

Bacon or ham and eggs, that most English of dishes, was the favorite of those benighted, pre-breakfast-cereal days. Lunch was the only meal regularly eaten out of the home, and it was usually sandwiches brought from the home. Regrettably, mine were mostly of the mirabelle plum variety. For relief, I occasionally purchased a bread roll and a tiny tin of sardines for a total outlay of about 1½ pence. My employer provided a cup of hot tea.

Milk bars were unknown; you bought your confectionery - mostly home-made - from the local 'lolly shop'. Just before the last war, those shops started to introduce 'malted milk' drinks. Today they vend anonymous 'thick shakes'. Ice cream was always scooped up into a cone for you.

Saveloys were particularly popular with the crowds attending a football match, and very comforting food they were, too, in the cold weather. I recall the cry: 'A three-course meal for a deener; who'll have one, only a deener!' The three-course meal was a saveloy, spread with reputed tomato sauce and enclosed in a bread roll. 'Deener' is Australian slang for one shilling (about 10 cents). Another hot food available at those gatherings was the meat pies - again spread with the inevitable (reputed) tomato sauce. This comestible is obviously of English origin, but such is the gung-ho attitude of certain latter-day food writers and other cowboys that it has become trendy to write of 'Australian pies', and so is history debased. Certainly a few pies were home-made during the period of which I write, but their numbers were insignificant because all made dishes, including pies, were regarded as pretentious. So the vast majority of the pies we consumed were commercially produced and eaten out of the home.

Sunday night's 'tea' was usually cold meat, left-overs from the midday roast of lamb with mint sauce, 'with baked potatoes under', as recommended by the Australian aristologist. These left-overs were usually accompanied by some tired-looking lettuce, shredded, and some even more tired, cold boiled beetroot, rather thickly sliced - the whole masquerading as salad and dressed with sweetened vinegar.

All meals were helped down by at least two cups of hot tea, usually with milk added.

Occasionally you escaped the meat and two veg syndrome, and went to a Chinese restaurant, where you'd be unaware of and blithely uninterested in the subtleties of Chinese cooking as you poured soy sauce over everything. As I recall it, Chinese-style food was appreciated 40 or 50 years ago because it offered differing flavors and textures, occasionally noticed by even our untutored palates. I still recall the delightful crispness of real chicken rolls, before they were conquered by mass-production.

Those Melburnians who could afford to do so in the 1920s and 1930s, went to the up-market grocers Fletcher, Chester & Co in Elizabeth Street, where they could buy such genuinely English delicacies as Scottish kippers, Bath Oliver biscuits, Huntley & Palmer's thin captains, Sharwood's chutneys, Crosse & Blackwell's pickles, Aberdeen bloaters, Lea & Perrin's sauces (including Yorkshire) and Peak Frean's biscuits. This was one of the few places where they ground real coffee beans for you while you waited. Their

catalogue is very careful to indicate the country of origin of all comestibles which didn't come from England.

English visitors stayed at Menzies' Hotel, and the wealthy ones from the Western District of Victoria were pampered at Scott's. Both hotels are long since defunct. Anyone planning a trip to England was said to be going 'home' for a visit.

English place-names dominated, such as Windsor, Cheltenham, Berwick, Cape York Peninsula and so on. All of the State capitals are named after English personalities, e.g. Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Brisbane et al. And the exploits of the British Army in the Crimea are still celebrated in the names of Alma, Inkerman and Balaclava Roads. Men's and women's fashions strictly followed the dictates of Bond and Regent Streets in London. And the garments were made of Australian wool woven into cloth in Yorkshire mills.

With the emergence of industrialization and its concomitant urban working class, such Australian specifics as damper and billy tea quickly disappeared, replaced by the humdrum plain boiled, fried, stewed and roasted (actually baked) - all the worst aspects of English cookery. We referred to the sweets course as 'dessert', another case of mistaken terminology, because we only ate nuts at Christmas dinner and beer parties. In fact, we retained the sweet half of the final course as devised for English dinners, but we didn't see the need for the savory portion of the true dessert course because we were not wine drinkers.

All the evidence shows that Australia's food culture, insofar as ingredients, utensils and techniques are concerned, migrated here from England in company with successive waves of migration, and that culture remained embedded in our way of life because of our forebears' refusal to come to terms with our environment.

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AUSTRALIA'S 'ONE CONTINUOUS PICNIC'

Michael Symons

Australia has very few dishes of local origin. About the only creation for which we can claim even modest culinary significance is the pavlova. It is a large meringue cake with a deliberately soft centre and is covered with whipped cream and, traditionally, passionfruit. I tried to trace its origins for my recent history of Australian eating (One Continuous Picnic: a History of Eating in Australia, Duck Press, Adelaide, 1982. This book, which is available from Prospect Books, contains information about the sources for this paper.) I traced back 'chains' of recipes by asking cooks to seek out the source of their earliest hand-written recipes; each chain went surprisingly quickly back to rural Victoria in the early 1940s. I searched old recipe books and the oldest printed recipe I found came from Adelaide in 1941. I also confirmed a story that a chef, Herbert Sachse, had 'cooked up the first pavlova' for afternoon teas at a Perth hotel, the Esplanade, in 1935. The Russian ballerina, Anna Pavlova, had stayed there in 1929. However, I also found reason to believe that Sachse found the idea as a £2-prize-winner in the Australian Women's Mirror on April 2, 1935. It was a Meringue Cake submitted by a New Zealand reader, and I then established that this was a popular recipe there, although apparently unknown in Australia.

In the end, I found it hard to verify the precise origin of the pavlova. Herbert Sachse made a genuine, crystallizing contribution, which captured the popular imagination, especially when a hotel manager gave it the name. Magazine articles and recipe books played a part in spreading the idea. But the recipe would also seem to have been developed and refined by household cooks, and transmitted through hand-written recipes, faster than it was taken up by new and powerful means of mass communication. Any popular, indigenous element in the creation of the pavlova provides a stark contrast to the general direction of our cooking.

In this paper, I will show why Australian food has been very much 'in motion', to the extent that outside influences have swamped any typical local cuisine. Indeed, the very title of my book, One Continuous Picnic, was meant to highlight how 'we brought our food with us and we have been kept well supplied with portable provisions'. But by never getting to grips with the land, we never really made a home here.

THE 'TYRANNY OF TRANSPORT'

Australian readers are beguiled by the cover of my book. An artist friend painted a picnic cloth laid out in a paddock with seven typical food items. They were: a bottle of Rosella tomato sauce, a bottle of Foster's lager, a tin of Golden Circle pineapple, a jar of Vegemite spread, a packet of Arnott's SAO biscuits, a packet of Kraft processed cheddar and a Violet Crumble bar. They represent universally-recognized brand-names. And they are all preserved and packaged. They have long 'shelf-lives'. The large companies which make so much of our 'picnic' fare require highly-processed foods, because they have great difficulty handling fresh, seasonal food. So the cover illustrates a notable characteristic of Australian food - portability.

To understand better the portability of Australian food, let us look at an opposite example. The so-called Dungaree settlers were emancipated

convicts who farmed along the Hawkesbury River, some distance outside Sydney, for a few decades from the late 1790s. They were noted for their peaches, watermelons, pumpkins, pigs and maize, which made an American-seeming diet. They took produce into the Sydney market and this included wheat, which was a difficult crop and thus not consumed by the settlers, but in demand by the well-to-do trying to keep up English ways.

The Dungaree settlers provided a magnificent exception to the essence of Australian eating. For they were the nearest we really came to a peasantry, with their own distinctive cuisine. All other continents have seen agrarian society. However, the Aborigines were hunter-gatherers, highly adapted to the environment and yet perceived by the settlers as unproductive. They could be exterminated and otherwise abused but not actually exploited. The Europeans arrived with the agricultural and industrial revolutions, so that this immediately became a developed nation, in all matters, including in the portability of food.

In 1966, Geoffrey Blainey entitled his influential interpretation of Australian history, The Tyranny of Distance. To him, our early years were shaped by isolation, later conquered by fast clippers and railways. That Blainey saw transport as liberating Australia is perhaps not surprising, given that he wrote during an era of unprecedented faith in mobility. But he also over-estimated distance's hold on the country. In fact, I find it more satisfying to look at the whole of Australian history as suffering a tyranny not of distance, but of transport.

In a country like Italy, you can still find tremendous regional variety in eating and drinking habits. Until a few years ago people in one valley might be quite unfamiliar with the dishes cooked in the next. Across the Alps, French cooking is quite different, although there's a subtler shift of cuisine along the Mediterranean because of the ease of shipping. In Australia, cooking has distinctively lacked any such regional variation. Country fare has scarcely differed from city. In fact, the food is remarkable for being directly derived from styles half-way around the globe. From the day the First Fleet unloaded its stores, there has been no greater evidence of transport's tyranny than our food, which has had to be portable, often ruling out variety and freshness. Whether the evidence is scurvy, monotonous rations, or utilitarian agriculture - our food suffered from motion.

THREE STAGES OF THE CUISINE

The 200 years of Australian eating divides into three periods. It took me literally years to work out what these historical stages could represent. What underlying factors caused the division naturally into 1780s-1860s, 1870s-1930s and 1940s-1970s? Along the way, I decided that the stages had some connection with changes in the predominant forms of transport.

SHIPS

The first period of Australian cuisine had some link with ships. Indeed, the government in London could only have contemplated colonizing the totally uncultivated continent because it could expect to sustain it with shipments of grain from other parts of the empire. Because New South Wales was known to lack any crops or bounty to plunder, despatching the First Fleet was like sending a mission to the moon. Australians know their most traditional diet as damper, tea and mutton. The flour and salt for the unleavened damper, as with the tea and sugar, could be shipped from conquered Asian ports and West Indian slave plantations. In fact, three of

the First Fleet transport were contracted to return to England via China, where cargoes of tea were collected. The mutton belonged to our early dominant industry, grazing.

RAILWAYS

Those products depicted on my cover belonged to the second stage of the Australian cuisine, which I linked with the railways. Massive investment by Britain about the 1880s opened up the hinterland, so that Australia became a net agricultural exporter. The railways brought fruit, wheat and dairy foods to the cities. The Australian apple variety, the Granny Smith, arose at the time because it proved long-lasting and thus portable. The 1880s saw rapid investment in food factories to process the new crops for the highly urban Australian people and also the large British market. The Rosella company bottled tomato sauce, Arnott's manufactured biscuits and Hoadley's turned to confectionery etc.

Another important company, Foster's brewery, was established in 1888 and represented success in making a sufficiently 'durable' beer for our hotter climate. The Foster brothers brought the latest technology, including pasteurization and refrigeration, from New York. It was a bottled beer, to make it more mobile, with early labels declaring 'warranted to keep in any climate'. Even more symbolic of the second stage of the Australian cuisine were the giant roller-mills, which arrived in 1879. With the support of the railways, roller-mills centralized milling in relatively few factories, which turned out cheaper, more transportable, white flour.

AUTOMOBILES

I associated the third period of the Australian cuisine with cars. The Second World War speeded up industrialization, General Motors launching its ubiquitous Holden car in 1949. During the 1950s, the rate of car ownership passed 100 per 1000 people, or virtually one per family. Comparing statistics with other countries, I found that this was enough for the arrival of supermarkets. The average family's weekly food purchases, excluding beverages, weighed about 50 kg. This could be carried in a car. Not only eliminating daily food purchases, the car could take the shopper some distance to seek out bigger shelves and lower prices. The supermarketing of food - with buying reduced in most cities to just three organizations - encouraged considerable centralization of food manufacture. Food fell further into the hands of large, often foreign, corporations, like Unilever, Nestlé and Heinz. With the supermarket taking a more passive selling role, the companies took up the 'marketing' approach, which was characterized by investments in market research, product development and advertizing.

Frozen foods became a typical supermarket category. Advertisements stressed a dubious 'convenience' for the customer. In fact, the convenience was for the companies which invested heavily in a system for distributing frozen foods, often world-wide. The fresh fish catch is notoriously unreliable and so Petersville's frozen food manager, K R Conland, told a conference in 1976: 'Continuity must be maintained. It is a very expensive exercise to have a product deleted and re-submitted in the distribution system. Consumer attitudes to the in-stock/out-of-stock situation does much damage to brand and retailer image and to profitability.' Much more convenient to put the seasons on ice. Australians were persuaded to become enthusiastic eaters of frozen fish fingers, anonymous blocks imported for 20 years before any local plant was established. The family car also enabled the dramatic growth during the

1970s of American chains of takeaway food outlets, like Macdonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken.

FACTORY COOKING

Surveying the three periods of Australian cuisine, we can see that ships were instrumental in the industrialization of the garden. This 'agricultural revolution' saw the development of large, more specialist farms, to feed increasingly urban populations, often at a great distance. Next, trains facilitated the virtual industrialization of the pantry, by linking farms with central preserving and packaging factories. Finally, cars encouraged the industrialization of the kitchen. By this, I mean that factories took over much final preparation, to some extent trivializing the work of the cook. With the car, consumers could pick up complete dishes in dried, canned and frozen form, and from 'fastfood' outlets. We could try new restaurants.

RETAILING

Transport shaped the retailing of food in Australian cities. The first towns needed markets, often close to the wharves, and the streets were enlivened by the hawkers of pies, hot cross buns, oysters and watercress. During the railways period, central markets were shifted adjacent to railway goods yards. By then cities had grown sufficiently to promote local shops, including chain stores. These clustered around suburban railway stations and at the junctions of tram routes. Another most distinctive feature of Australian suburbs were the delivery men, who now came with horse and cart, although some, like the Chinese fish hawkers, remained on foot. The household was brought daily deliveries of milk and bread and regular ice, groceries, greengroceries and meat. The car changed all that, enabling, as we have seen, the centralization of retailing into supermarkets surrounded by asphalt parking lots.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Even a decade ago, before a sudden and widespread resurgence of interest in all types of food and cooking, most Australians would have said, or even apologized, that our eating was very 'English'. We liked roast beef, puddings and cups of tea. It went along with a common political and cultural assertion that our outpost of civilization was 'ninety-eight per cent British'. Our cookery books were derived from British models. This had been the case right from the start. Virtually no indigenous cookery books were published for a century because the standard of cooking was generally abysmal and, anyhow, the English books were used. Our first cookery book, in 1864, although satisfyingly nationalistic, was entitled: The English and Australian Cookery Book. Two influential authors around the 1890s, Margaret Pierson and Harriet Wicken, made it clear on their title pages that they were trained in London at the South Kensington School of Domestic Science.

It meant that the gardening and cooking, apart from the notable exception of Tasmania, was often unsuited to the hotter climate. It was often totally unseasonal - making for turkey and plum pudding for Christmas, which falls in midsummer. To no mean extent, the Englishness of cooking represented the attempt to 'civilize' this wild continent with decent nuclear families. The brutish male diet of the early years was to be replaced by mother's 'dainties'.

The claim for an 'Englishness' in cooking hides many exceptions. We

tried to like kangaroo and wild turkey and we took to un-English exotics like pumpkin, choko and passionfruit. We were also very influenced by other nations, especially the United States. A good example here centred on the commissioner of the Victorian Railways in the 1920s, Harold Clapp. He had spent much of his career on the U.S. railroads. To promote the primary produce carried by his trains, he adopted the latest Californian techniques. His station masters put up posters and took orders for cases of peaches. On the city platforms Clapp installed glamorous orange juice bars. The railway's bakeries popularized raisin bread. Porters dispensed ice-creams on country trains. The important ingredient in Clapp's activities was the claim that his oranges, raisins and ice-creams were rich in vitamins - they were good for nation-building.

While food epitomizing what I call 'family goodness' succeeded in the 1920s, it was a poor period for gourmets. 'One doesn't dine in Sydney nowadays,' G F Everett wrote in 1928. 'One merely pays to eat.' It was the time of temperance, with hotel trading hours curbed, the numbers of licences reduced and several attempts made to enforce prohibition through referenda. The point is how this activity reflected happenings in America, where there was Prohibition, when the Californian vineyards were turned to dried fruit and made way for orange groves. Harold Clapp simply brought across American attitudes to a presumably not unwilling Australian society.

The process by which Australian food was made 'English' - and also, to a more easily forgotten extent, American - falls into the category of cultural imperialism. The extolling of English recipes has been regarded as acceptable, even patriotic. The classic example of cultural imperialism which has attracted negative comment is Coca-Cola. In many instances, the American government and companies used the Second World War to 'invade' Australia.

COCA-COLA

Coke had sent a survey team here in 1937 and started manufacturing soon after. But this proved to be another 'unusual and difficult' market. Sales were unimpressive. Then in 1943 came President R W Woodruff's master stroke: 'We will see that every man in [American] uniform gets a bottle of Coca Cola for five cents wherever he is and whatever it costs.' The company shipped bottling plants throughout the world, as close as possible to combat areas. 'Jungle Units' were even fitted to jeeps. Company personnel were attached to the forces as Technical Observers, known colloquially as 'Coca-Cola colonels'. Three of them died in the performance of their mission. 'We are proud of the job we did,' said an executive, H B Nicholson. 'And so were the GI's. They conducted the greatest word-of-mouth campaign ever afforded any product in history... It was like Main Street suddenly stretched around the world.' Australians became addicted.

THE NEED FOR NATIONAL CUISINE

The answer to cultural imperialism, which is the dark side of 'food in motion', is nationalism. Australians have undergone a recent upsurge in often ill-directed nationalistic fervour, but we cannot sustain much enthusiasm for our cuisine. Our proudest names just tend to be the most heavily advertized, like Foster's, Vegemite and Rosella. The only even modestly famous dish has been the pavlova, which we adopted from New Zealand. So what can we nominate as a typical meal? Mutton, damper and tea? A baked dinner and pudding? Prawn cocktail, filet mignon and strawberries romanoff? Our sardonic humour, unable to take this society

seriously, holds our national dish to be the meat pie and tomato sauce. It has everything - it's borrowed, it's crude, its contents are dubious, it's factory-made, it's portable (usually eaten when walking along a street) and its manufacturers are now mostly foreign.

Our cuisine, which can be described as 'one continuous picnic', is lightweight. We never established contact with the soil, never took food seriously. Yet we've always been amply supplied. In comparison with other traditions, Australia's cuisine must be a contender for the world's most artificial and careless. Resourcefulness in working with just the local environment brought about great cuisines like the Chinese. But if necessity mothered culinary invention, then the corollary was that the world's easiest, most mobile cuisine became the world's worst.

Nationalism falls into two broad categories. There is nationalism which seeks to oppress minorities, or other peoples. Then there is nationalism which seeks self-determination. For those who believe in self-expression, then the second kind of nationalism is much the preferable. When we look around the world and we intelligently pick and choose ideas, foods and techniques, then food is desirably in migration. Unfortunately, Australia's history under culinary imperialism has led to an impoverished cuisine.

Fresh food is usually more nutritious, tends to be more rewarding in taste, is a better teacher, encourages less pretentious dishes and magnifies the appreciation of the seasons. We now have yet another argument for fresh food. It tends to be local food, our own food as against that of Coke and Unilever. The quest for fresh food encourages regional and national cuisines, which industrialization is quickly destroying.

MARGRIET'S ADVICE TO THE DUTCH HOUSEWIFE: CHANGES IN EATING HABITS IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1945-1975

Catherine Salzman

The purpose of this paper is to describe the new products and new dishes that have become a part of daily life in the Netherlands in the post-war period. The type of primary source used here is one which historians have only recently begun to value: the woman's magazine. The particular magazine used here is De Margriet, which first appeared in 1938 and eventually grew to become the woman's magazine with the largest circulation in the Netherlands.[1]

In the first part of the paper I will describe basic changes in the Dutch diet. In doing so I will point out when certain important products came on the market on a large enough scale to be advertised regularly. In the second part I will describe how the culinary columns of Margriet changed between 1945 and 1975. Finally, I will deal with the question of how the Dutch responded to dishes from abroad, in particular from the United States and from Indonesia.

Many Dutch and all foreigners who have spent any length of time in the Netherlands will agree with A P den Hartog's characterization of Dutch cuisine: 'a certain soberness in the meals cannot be denied.'[2] The basic Dutch diet consists of three meals a day: one hot meal, with meat, vegetables and almost always potatoes, and two 'bread meals', made up of (usually open-faced) sandwiches. This basic diet has not changed in the post-war period, although individual components have.

The single most important factor influencing changes in diet in the Netherlands from 1945 to 1975 has been the increase in prosperity. In 1857 the German statistician Ernst Engel observed that the higher a family's income the smaller the proportion of it that is spent on food. In 1950 an average Dutch employee spent 39% of his income on food. In 1974 this was only 26%.[3]

Changes in eating habists can be divided into eight different categories.[4] There was, first of all, a decrease in the consumption of less expensive products, like potatoes, milk and bread, with the exception of the more expensive types of bread, like crackers and buns. The dairy industry's response was to organize advertising campaigns to stimulate consumption. Dairy industry advertisements ('I drink milk. What about you?') began appearing in Margriet in 1956.

Second, there was an increase in the consumption of more expensive products, as meat, cheese, vegetables and fruit. A staple part of Margriet's culinary articles was to stimulate the housewife to serve more vegetables and to try the various new fruits and vegetables now available, like melons, bell peppers, celery and aubergines.

The consumption of fats has increased. Although since the mid 1960s there has been some decrease in use of visible fats, like butter and oils, the use of invisible fats, such as those in meat, cheese and packaged snacks, has continued to rise. Different sorts of potato chips and peanuts began to be advertised in Margriet on a large scale in 1967. Excess consumption was accompanied by concern. In fact, since the early 1970s the Dutch housewife can be said to have developed a fully schizophrenic personality with respect to fat. In 1971 the first advertisements for diet margarine, diet mayonnaise and diet condensed milk, which the Dutch use in their coffee, began appearing alongside the advertisements for the normal

varieties.[5] Readers were given more and more low calorie recipes and diets from which to choose. In 1971, eleven issues of Margriet had some information on dieting.

Fourth, drinking habits have also changed. The consumption of coffee, of carbonated beverages and of alcoholic beverages has increased dramatically. In Margriet the first advertisement for Coca-Cola appeared in 1954. Advertisements for beer, wine and liquors began to appear regularly in 1959 and for all sorts of carbonated drinks in 1964. In the 1950s there was virtually a taboo in the culinary articles on the use of any alcoholic beverage. But in the last half of 1975 alone ten issues contained recipes calling for wine, beer, port or sherry or had a bottle of wine pictured in the background.

There has been a shift towards industrially processed foods, like canned soups, vegetables and fruits, and towards convenience foods, like canned and frozen dinners, instant puddings, instant rice and instant coffee. Frozen foods were available in 1951 but it wasn't until about 1970 that they really seem to have been sold on a large scale. The first advertisements for instant coffee appeared in 1955 and for instant rice in 1960. Instant puddings were advertised in Margriet beginning in 1951, but it wasn't until the 1970s that prepared desserts from the refrigerated section of the supermarket became commonplace.

Most people in the period up until 1940 and everyone in the period from 1940 to 1945 had to be economical with respect to food. This necessity was made into a virtue. Since 1945, however, this virtue has gradually been discarded. One of the consistent themes in the culinary columns of Margriet is the housewife's responsibility to be economical with the family's household budget, but there has been a major change in what constitutes being economical. In February of 1951 Margriet recommended making cheese dishes for a 'festive lunch' even though that was 'not inexpensive'.[6] But in October 1971 dishes with cheese were recommended partly because they were inexpensive.[7] In March of 1946 Margriet published an article with recipes for using up old bread, such as french toast and bread pudding. The article commented that even though there was now enough bread to go round it was still wrong to throw any away.[8] But in 1972 when Margriet again published recipes calling for old bread the motivation given for trying them was taste. No mention was made of economy. It was estimated that 10% of all bread bought in 1976 ended up in the garbage can.[9]

The sandwiches the Dutch still eat twice a day have tended to become more and more heavily spread. The bread now takes second place to what is put on it. Margriet has regularly given suggestions for double-decker sandwiches, or sandwiches with more than one filling. Still, even though sandwiches are more thickly spread than they used to be, a really 'thick' sandwich, like the one common in other countries, is quite exceptional in the Netherlands.

Seventh, there has also been a change in the time of day at which most people eat their hot meal. Traditionally this was served at midday. But with increasing urbanization, and with increasing distances between home and work, more and more people have come to take their hot meal in the evening.

A final aspect of changed eating habits is the growing tendency to purchase meals or snacks outside the home, sometimes in restaurants but more often in lunchrooms or canteens or out of a machine. Still, franchised fast-food outlets have not become established in the Netherlands on anywhere near the scale they have in the United States.

CHANGES IN CULINARY ADVICE

If one looks at the culinary advice offered in Margriet one cannot help but notice that it has changed in fundamental ways. The single most important change is that in the 1960s and 1970s more and more emphasis came to be placed on variety, on the pleasures of trying new things. In 1951 this theme was mentioned in only six of the culinary columns. In 1975 it was mentioned in 24.

Ironically enough, recipes out of 'grandmother's time' have become more and more fashionable, although one suspects that grandma would never have recognized some of them, like a charlotte russe.[10] In the immediate post-war period old-fashioned cooking was mentioned only pejoratively. We have already had cause to mention increased attention to low calorie dishes and to dishes made with wine. There has also been a marked increase in the use of herbs and spices. More and more frequently housewives are advised to adapt their menu to the time of year: for example using summer vegetables in the summer, and winter vegetables in the winter, or substituting macaroni for old potatoes in the spring. More and more attention is given to the admiration and even the love that a woman can receive from family and friends as a result of what she achieves in the kitchen.

The amount of space that Margriet devoted to culinary advice expanded considerably in the post-war period, but so did the magazine as a whole. What has changed rather dramatically is the number of advertisements for food products. Another significant change is the amount of interest expressed by readers in culinary matters. When in 1950 Margriet invited readers to submit culinary questions for an answer by the staff this received only a very limited response. But by 1975 Margriet was carrying on a sustained dialogue with readers, answering their questions and publishing recipes submitted by them.

Finally, there has been a major increase in the level of technology expected in the kitchen of readers of Margriet's culinary articles. As late as 1959 Margriet told its readers they didn't need a refrigerator to be able to serve drinks or desserts with ice cream in them so long as they could get someone to bring the ice cream at the right moment.[11] Cakes could be baked in a 'wonderpan' and large cuts of meat could be cooked on top of the stove if one didn't have an oven.[12] As late as 1967, in a series of articles on new kitchen equipment, two of the five kitchens pictured had only gas burners, no oven.[13] It is only in the last ten years or so that the presence of an oven in the kitchen is more or less assumed. But even today very few Dutch kitchens have blenders, not to mention food processors.

Among the constant factors in Margriet's culinary columns is the assumption that in every family the woman is responsible for the kitchen. At most she may get a little help from her husband or children, usually on Mother's Day. Also constant has been the amount of emphasis on the nutritional value of the food served. Finally, a relatively constant proportion of the recipes suggested were intended for national or religious holidays.

Other aspects of Margriet's culinary advice indicate both stability and change. We have already seen this in the meaning attached to the concept of economy. Another change is that although Margriet always emphasized making something special for festive occasions, there has come to be a much broader definition of what constitutes a festive occasion. In a column in March of 1963 for example readers were given a cake recipe and

told: 'if there's no special reason for a celebration then let's make a reason.'[14] Another constant feature of Margriet's culinary advice is an emphasis on dishes that are not too difficult. But there has been a change in what is not considered difficult. In 1956 an attractively presented meat dish, with vegetables and potatoes on the side, was something that 'does not demand much extra effort or time.'[15] But in 1971 a soufflé was 'easier than you think.'[16]

In their study of Margriet's personal advice column, C Brinkgreve and M Korzec point out that the policy of the editors was to combine an attempt to be in the vanguard of social change, leading their readers in discarding traditional taboos, with the necessity of making their ideas acceptable to as great a proportion of the Dutch population as possible.[17] The same can be said of Margriet's culinary advice. One manifestation of this care not to go too far is that Margriet was very reticent on giving cooking times for vegetables. Vegetable recipes instructed readers to boil the vegetables until they were tender, leaving it up to the reader to decide how long that was. Margriet advised shorter cooking times, but indirectly, through implication, rather than with direct reproach: 'We prepare the old-fashioned winter dishes, but in a modern way. Cabbage doesn't have to be boiled for hours.'[18] In this way Margriet could advise shorter cooking times without offending old-fashioned readers.[19]

Brinkgreve and Korzec point to the years between 1966 and 1970 as the period when the tempo of change in Margriet's personal advice column was particularly high. But they also point out that there was a great deal of continuity.[20] This applies to Margriet's culinary advice as well. Dutch cuisine has undoubtedly been influenced by an influx of 'guest labourers' from Mediterranean and North African countries in the 1960s. They and their families have stimulated the demand for bell peppers and aubergines, thereby contributing to their availability. It is also important that Dutch society is becoming gradually more secular. The percentage of votes received by those political parties with a confessional base fell from 51.7 in 1963 to 36.2 in 1972.[21] To traditionalists, luxurious eating and drinking is something perhaps just slightly short of sinful. It seems likely that the sustained strength of orthodox religion in the Netherlands explains in part why eating habits have changed only very slowly.

CHINESE-INDONESIAN DISHES

In the final part of this paper I want to deal with the question of the extent to which Chinese-Indonesian dishes and American dishes have become adopted in the Netherlands in the post-war period. Immigrants from Indonesia established the first Chinese-Indonesian restaurants in the Netherlands in the 1920s. Because the people who opened these restaurants were from the middle class and because the merchant class in Indonesia was to a large extent ethnically Chinese, the food served in them was almost always a combination of the two cuisines. By the 1970s almost every village in the Netherlands had its own Chinese-Indonesian restaurant. There are only a few truly Indonesian restaurants in the Netherlands.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s there were three waves of immigration from Indonesia to the Netherlands in response to the fact that the Dutch lost their hold over this colony. Partly as a result of this immigration and partly because so many Dutch military personnel had fought in Indonesia, there was in the post-war period a mass market for Chinese-Indonesian dishes. Appreciation for Chinese-Indonesian food spread to those who had no roots in Indonesia. This can be explained in part by a

sort of nostalgia for the days when the Netherlands was an important colonial power. It was also due in part to the fact that Chinese-Indonesian restaurants are relatively inexpensive and serve large portions. You get a lot for your money. This is an important point for a population that was not then in the habit of eating out and not in the habit of splurging on food. Finally, let us not forget that an important reason for the popularity of Chinese-Indonesian food in a restaurant or in the home is that it is tasty and provides pleasant variation.

Chinese-Indonesian food has in fact become a part of Dutch cuisine. In 1950 Margriet provided its first recipes for Chinese-Indonesian dishes: bami (fried noodles) and loempiah (egg rolls). In 1955 the first advertisements began to appear for the various special spices needed to prepare Chinese-Indonesian food in the home. Most telling of all, the convenience food industry got into the market for Chinese-Indonesian dishes. Advertisements for canned nasi (fried rice) and bami began to appear in 1954. In 1962 housewives could buy nasi and bami appetizers that could be warmed in the oven. A variety of other dishes could be made with the help of packaged sauces in powdered form, which became available on a wide scale in the 1960s.

Obviously the Chinese-Indonesian dishes popular in the Netherlands have been adapted to Dutch taste. For one thing, the spices are considerably more mild. More important, very often Dutch ingredients were substituted for eastern ones. A good illustration of this point is Margriet's recipe for a loempiah (spring roll). This recipe was published in response to many requests from readers.[22] The loempiah was a Chinese import to Indonesia. When it was brought from Indonesia to the Netherlands it sprouted to rather enormous dimensions, usually about 20 cm long and 8 cm wide. The Margriet recipe for a loempiah called for sautéed cabbage, leeks, celery, pork and shrimps (no bean sprouts, other eastern vegetables or bean curd), wrapped in a pancake and then deep-fried. The result is a rather heavy concoction bearing only a passing resemblance to anything Indonesian, or to anything Chinese for that matter. By 1967 when eastern vegetables and spices were more readily available on the Dutch market, often in special stores, the Chinese-Indonesian recipes given in Margriet began to bear a much closer resemblance to Chinese-Indonesian food.[23] A very different example of adaptation of Indonesian food to Dutch taste was presented in 1975: a number of low-calorie Indonesian recipes.[24]

AMERICAN DISHES

In the 1950s and early 1960s in the Netherlands there was a special feeling about things that came from the United States or Canada. American products were assumed to be quality products. Americans were envied for their prosperity and admired and even loved for the role they had played in liberating the country from the Nazis. All of this was reflected in the attitude towards American food displayed in the culinary columns of Margriet and in the advertisements. Margriet devoted far more attention to American dishes than to Chinese-Indonesian dishes. But unlike Chinese-Indonesian food, American food has not become a part of Dutch cuisine.

Of course there was also a certain prejudice against American food: in 1959 Margriet explained to readers that it was not true that American cuisine was limited to opening cans and warming up frozen dinners.[25] In fact it isn't easy to define American food. There are certain dishes

which are characteristically American: hamburgers, chocolate cake, mixed drinks and peanut butter and jelly sandwiches are good examples. More than that, American food is characterized by not being bound by any particular rules. Whereas the Dutch always eat two cold meals and one hot meal each day and always stop for coffee or tea in the middle of the morning, afternoon and evening, Americans eat and drink pretty much whatever they wish whenever that is convenient.

It is necessary, I think, to draw two distinctions: between American food and food made possible by a high degree of prosperity, like large servings of meat; and between American food and food made possible by modern technology, like fast food. The most commonly sold fast food in the Netherlands is surely the 'portie frites', a serving of what Americans would call 'french fried' potatoes, usually topped off with an un-American squirt of mayonnaise. This is an import neither from France nor from America but from Belgium. The establishments which sell these fried potatoes usually also sell hamburgers, but the demand for them is certainly not nearly as high as that for croquettes (a sort of dumpling rolled in bread crumbs and deep fried).

It should be clear that there is no culinary or moral reason why anyone should try to copy American food, or avoid it for that matter. The point is that in a country where American clothing, American popular music, American comic strips and American slang expressions have been so widely incorporated into daily life it is surprising that one doesn't find more American style food.

There are certain key features of American cuisine that the Dutch find repugnant. A good example is the peanut butter and jelly sandwich. In an article giving new ideas for fillings for sandwiches, Margriet suggested combining peanut butter with banana, apple, kwark or even hard boiled egg but not with jam (which is far more common in the Netherlands than jelly).[26] Peanut butter and jelly is a combination of sweet and salty tastes which is strange to the Dutch palate. Dutch people who have tried American-style cakes while visiting the United States usually say they don't like them. They claim that the reason is that the cakes are too heavy. It is difficult to believe this is really the reason, since nothing could be heavier than the popular Dutch boterkoek (a sort of butter-cake) or oliebollen (doughnuts with currants).

It would take up too much space to describe all of the dishes identified as American in the culinary columns of Margriet. A few characteristic examples will have to suffice. In September 1951 Margriet published an article entitled 'Tested according to American standards', reporting the results of a baking contest held in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, complete with four of the winning recipes. The recipes given were, in this order, 'Orange Kiss-Me Cake' (flavoured with orange peel and raisins with a glaze topping), 'Half-Time Spoon Rolls' (made with yeast), 'Tea Time in Paris Cake' (with egg whites folded into the batter and with no icing), and 'Old Virginia Cobbler' (made with apples).[27] In December of the same year there was a recipe for 'American ground beef cookies', little disks of fried ground beef with cooked prunes on top, to be served hot as appetizers.[28] In March 1956 Margriet described as 'typically American' an hors d'oeuvre tray with cocktail sausages, prunes, stuffed olives, radishes, onions and assorted types of fish.[29] Most telling of all, in August 1963 Margriet gave a recipe for an 'American hamburger': before being fried the ground beef was to be mixed with tomato paste, chopped onion, salt and pepper. 'You serve this meal - in the American way - with everything on the plates.' On top of each hamburger were to be some pieces

of leek, a handful of stuffed olives and some sliced tomato. No mention was made of a bun.[30]

Surely anyone thoroughly familiar with American food will agree with me that while these dishes certainly could be served in America there is not much about them that is really American. In fact, one misses typically American things like chocolate cake or any cake with a thick icing. Any type of biscuits would have been far more typically American than yeast rolls. Although cobbler is an American dish, when made with apples it tastes much the same as Dutch apple pie.

What it comes down to is that these recipes were chosen and even rewritten for the Dutch housewife. In fact in the introduction to the article on the baking contest Margriet's culinary writer stated that she had avoided those winning recipes that did not 'really fit in with our Dutch taste.'[31] There would have been no point in giving a recipe for brownies, for example, because readers would never have tried it. It would have been too far out of the ordinary. The recipe for hamburgers was obviously rewritten. Needlessly to say, Americans do not typically garnish their hamburgers with olives and they do not mix the ground beef with tomato paste. This last was surely a substitute for the fact that a typical Dutch family did not have a bottle of catsup in the refrigerator. Catsup was not advertised in Margriet until 1972. Leeks are, of course, practically unknown in America. Furthermore, I may be a purist, but for me an American hamburger is always served on a bun. To do this, however, would break one of the key rules in Dutch cuisine: the distinction between the hot meal, with potatoes, and the cold meal, with bread. In short, the strange way American food was presented in Margriet was not accidental.

Margriet's goal in giving American recipes was not to tell readers how to prepare their food as Americans did. What Margriet was doing was to use the special allure associated with America and the American way of life to push ideas it favoured in general, including above all the idea of trying something new and different. The ground beef cookie and the hors d'oevre tray were something new and different that the housewife could use for a festive occasion. Along the same lines, in May 1955 Margriet urged readers 'to learn from our American sisters' and serve a variety of vegetables at every meal.[32] In September 1956 Margriet used a story about an American couple living in the Netherlands to push the idea of serving more dishes with melted cheese worked into them.[33]

By the early 1970s America had lost much of its special glow in the eyes of Europeans in general. Because of this and also because of the increasing variety of products now available, it became possible to present American food that was more characteristically American. A good example is a recipe for an 'American salad with nuts' which was essentially a Waldorf salad.[34] A new recipe for a hamburger did include a bun, although if you wanted a cheeseburger you had to mix grated cheese with the ground beef instead of putting a slice on top. The article also suggested that you could season your hamburger with fresh chopped parsley or chives or with paprika, pressed garlic, lemon juice or ginger.[35] The essential purpose remained; not to tell readers how to make American style food, but how to make something new and different.

The point to be kept in mind at this symposium on migration of foodstuffs and cookery techniques is that dishes can only be truly adopted in a new region if they fit into the new environment in some way. For social and political reasons, both Chinese-Indonesian dishes and American dishes could have fitted into the Dutch environment. But there is another factor of importance, an economic factor. People who came from Indonesia

or who had lived or fought in Indonesia formed a basic market for Chinese-Indonesian food so that it could spread to the population at large. In contrast, the opportunities for marketing American food were limited. There was never a large enough number of people in the Netherlands who came from America or had lived there to form a basic market.

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2. den Hartog, A P, Voeding als maatschappelijk verschijnsel, Bohn, Scheltema & Holtema, Utrecht, p. 121.
3. den Hartog, p. 61.
4. The following paragraphs combine observations made by den Hartog, pp. 103-6, with results of my analysis of Margriet. The changes described here certainly apply to other western countries as well, although there were undoubtedly some unique factors in the Dutch case. It would be interesting to compare the date at which new products were introduced on the Dutch market with the date they were introduced in other western countries.
5. Advertisements for artificial sweeteners and artificially-sweetened beverages began appearing in 1967.
6. Margriet, 10 February 1951, p. 51.
7. Margriet, 2 October 1971, p. 156.
8. Margriet, 23 March 1946, p. 8.
9. de Bekker, G J P M, De betekenis van brood in de voeding en de faktoren die op het broodgebruik van invloed zijn, Dissertation, Landbouwhogeschool Wageningen, 1978.
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11. Margriet, 18 July 1959, p. 44.
12. Margriet, 14 May 1959, p. 69.
13. Margriet, 3 June 1967, p. 104 and 10 June 1967, p. 104.
14. Margriet, 16 March 1963, p. 84.
15. Margriet, 24 March 1956, p. 46.
16. Margriet, 23-29 October 1971, p. 102.
17. Brinkgreve and Korzec, p. 19.
18. Margriet, 9 September 1967, p. 63.
19. A disadvantage of this is that Margriet is not a good source on changes in cooking times.
20. Brinkgreve and Korzec, p. 127.
21. Bosmans, J, 'Het maatschappelijk-politieke leven in Nederland 1945-1980', in Algemeen Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, volume 15, Haarlem, 1982, p. 274.

22. Margriet, 22 March 1958, p. 57. The introduction stated that the culinary column could not work as a sort of request line but that they were making an exception to give the most-asked-for recipes of the year.
23. Margriet, 18 Movember 1967, p. 120.
24. Margriet, 12 July 1975, p. 63.
25. Margriet, 14 May 1959, p. 69.
26. Margriet, 27 May 1967, p. 97. When I make myself a peanut butter and jam sandwich at lunch when anyone else is looking they always seem to think that I will surely expire on the spot. (Kwark is a sort of young cheese.)
27. Margriet, 29 September 1951, pp. 32-33.
28. Margriet, 1 December 1951, p. 41.
29. Margriet, 24 March 1956, p. 48.
30. Margriet, 17 August 1963, p. 51.
31. Margriet, 29 September 1951, pp. 32-33.
32. Margriet, 21 May 1955, p. 44.
33. Margriet, 29 September 1956, p. 93.
34. Margriet, 6-12 November 1971, p. 168.
35. Margriet, 2-8 September 1972, p. 23.

HOW FESTIVE FOODS OF THE OLD WORLD BECAME COMMONPLACE IN THE NEW, OR THE AMERICAN PERCEPTION OF HUNGARIAN GOULASH

Louis Szathmary

'Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are.'
- Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, The Physiology of Taste, 1825

There might be some difficulty with Hungarian goulash.

I will try to outline here some observations and conclusions developed during the last decade about Hungarian dishes in general and Hungarian goulash in particular, and the differences in its positioning within the hierarchy of foods in Hungary and in the United States, both with Hungaro-Americans and with Americans of other national origin.

While working on a special project - Hungarian restaurants in the United States in the year of the American bicentennial - I made a survey of recipes served in Hungarian-American restaurants throughout the United States. From this statistical data, there emerged what is for me a most interesting and significant observation:

> Almost all of the main course dishes offered in Hungarian-American restaurants are dishes which would be considered only as Sunday dishes, holiday fare, or meals for festive occasions in Hungary.

As a basis for comparison, I assembled a fairly large sampling of menus from restaurants in Hungary during the years 1972 through 1978. I then tabulated the most frequent dishes on the menus of Hungarian-American restaurants. A study of the results made it evident that:

- # Only a small percentage of Hungarian dishes are offered in Hungarian-American restaurants.
- # Those dishes that were offered were meals that are considered either festive or holiday dishes in Hungary, or are among the most expensive on the average restaurant menu.
- # The average, everyday restaurant food in Hungary today differs greatly from the meals served in Hungarian restaurants in the United States.

COMPARING RESTAURANT FOOD WITH FAMILY FARE

After getting this far in the investigation, I interviewed 40 Hungarian-American families, asking them about Hungarian dishes in their family meals. Their answers confirmed that what is considered 'Hungarian everyday food' in the United States is actually food for special occasions in Hungary.

FESTIVE FOODS OF OTHER NATIONS BECOME EVERYDAY DISHES IN THE U.S.

Further investigation tends to confirm that a similar reversal happens to Italian food among Italian-Americans, Jewish food among Jewish-Americans, German food among German-Americans, etc.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE CAUSES OF THIS CHANGE?

I found the following factors influenced the change of festive or holiday foods into everyday dishes among the ethnic groups in America:

(1) Economic considerations. If we compare the percentage of total family income spent on food in the United States with that of any other country we see that, even today and even among the lowest socio-economic level, a smaller percentage is spent on food by U.S. citizens. We find, further, that, while the prices paid for such protein ingredients as beef, pork, poultry, lamb, veal and fish are basically lower in the United States, in general the prices for starches, vegetables, and all the other food staples are somewhat higher in comparison with other countries.

An actual conversation with an American homemaker explains the effect of prices on recipe choices. I asked her, 'Why do you cook meat dishes so often?'

She replied, 'When I can buy one pound of beef for $1.27, while zucchini costs 99c, why should I buy zucchini? Peeling it and scraping out the insides and then losing a third of it before cooking is ridiculous when I can buy meat!'

(2) Ethnic pride. It is natural to want to look better in front of your neighbors than you actually are. If non-members of your own ethnic group could look into your pot and check what is cooking, pride in your background would urge you to upgrade your own image, not only economically but also gastronomically.

(3) Homesickness and nostalgia. These feelings tend to make you remember the highlights of your heritage, the best things that happend to you while in 'the old country'. Because, as a rule, holidays are more memorable than workdays, pleasurable things would happen on them, and you remember them fondly.

Hungarians as an ethnic group can be divided into several sub-groups but, throughout the country of approximately 10 million inhabitants, the eating habits, the recipes used, the foods liked, and the raw materials available, are very similar. Small regional differences will have some influence on certain dishes, but basically every Hungarian food for the past century has been built around bread, potatoes, grains, legumes, vegetables, pasta, and relatively small amounts of meat. The old American saying that 'the farmer eats chicken only if either he or the chicken is sick' could be applied to Hungarian farmers as well.

(4) Availability of raw material. Although the average Hungarian housewife outside the large cities still tends to have poultry around the house, chicken consumption is much lower in Hungary than in the U.S. Beef gets on the table seldom and in small amounts. Consumption of veal and lamb is insignificant, but pork production is still relatively high, although for health, economy and social reasons it has declined in recent decades.

Perhaps in the United States the other raw materials used in Hungarian everyday cooking were not as accessible and widespread as they are today. When the Hungarian immigration to the United States began in considerable numbers before the turn of the century, it was not easy to obtain the same type of grain, same type of vegetables, legumes and other staples as the immigrants used at home. But the purchase of beef, chicken, veal and pork was not only easy but inexpensive.

For these reasons, dishes which the average Hungarian back home ate on high holidays, christenings, name days (celebrated in Hungary more frequently than birthdays), weddings, and occasionally on Sundays, especially when guests were invited, turned into everyday dishes among the Hungarian-Americans.

What dishes are we talking about? The chart shows the frequency that various Hungarian dishes appeared on the menus of 50 restaurants in nine states in the U.S. and in Canada.

For example, chicken paprikash was on the menus of 43 of the 50 restaurants.

MOST FREQUENT HUNGARIAN DISHES ON 50 HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN RESTAURANT MENUS IN THE U.S.A. AND CANADA IN 1976

NAME OF DISH	IN HOW MANY RESTAURANTS
Chicken paprikash	43
Stuffed cabbage	42
Beef goulash	36
Szekely goulash	16
Veal paprikash	16
Veal goulash	12
Beef pörkölt	6
Veal pörkölt	4
Pork goulash	3
Beef paprikash	2
Pork pörkölt	2
Hungarian beef stew	2
Lamb goulash	1

WHAT IS GOULASH?

In Hungary, the word 'goulash' today refers to the cattle driver, the 'cowboy'. The only place on a Hungarian menu where you would find goulash ('gulyás', as it is written in Hungarian) would be among the soups, and it would be called 'gulyás leves', meaning 'the soup of the cowboy'. What is known all over the world as 'Hungarian goulash' is called in Hungary 'pörkölt' or 'paprikás'. 'Pörkölt' contains no sour cream. It is called 'paprikás' if sour cream has been added to the 'pörkölt'. Incidentally the 'pörk' in 'pörkölt' has nothing to do with the meat of a hog.

THE HISTORY OF GOULASH-PORKOLT AND PAPRIKAS

For a country that has a history of 1,100 years in one geographical location, the Carpathian Basin, the dish of goulash is relatively new under either of its names. Hungarian cattlemen, shepherds and pigherders cooked cubed meat with onion and spices (with a 'short sauce', meaning a very small amount of liquid) for at least 300-500 years. But the dish could not be called 'pörkölt' or 'paprikás', because this spice, the paprika, today considered the most Hungarian of all spices, is relatively new to the Hungarian cuisine. It was not known in Hungary until the 1820s when it became extremely popular and practically eliminated black pepper and ginger from the average Hungarian kitchen.

Black pepper from southern Asia was introduced to Europe through the Levant during the time of the Pharaohs, and it was the principal spice and preservative during the time of Christ. The suppliers of pepper had been merchants, who, whatever their nationality or religion, were predominantly citizens of the Ottoman or Turkish Empire. When red pepper was introduced to Europe by early explorers of the New World, the seed and fruit of the capsicum tree were distributed throughout the Mediterranean area, again by merchants from the Levant and from Venice.

Spain and Hungary became the two strongest producers of this relatively new spice, because of their favorable soil and climate.

Black pepper was used not only to give flavor and aroma to the food, but also as a preservative. Raw meat was rubbed and practically covered with ground pepper to keep it fresh longer. The pepper was used with salt, with sugar, or alone. People attempted to use paprika as a preservative and rubbed it on the raw meat. When this raw meat rubbed with paprika came in contact with the heat from the frying kettle, the paprika-covered meat formed a brown crusty surface with a pleasantly different taste resembling that of meat roasted over an open fire to the point of almost burning.

To get a piece of meat to this point is described by the Hungarian verb 'pörköl', which means to slightly burn the surface. The meat treated with paprika reaches this taste without the actual burning. That's why the new dish - the meat fried in small cubes with fat and onion - was called 'pörkölt'. After beef, the same process was applied to pork, rabbit, veal and poultry. Each one of these dishes can be called pörkölt. If sour cream is folded into the meat or poultry or fish after it is cooked, it is called paprikás.

The characteristic behaviour of the ground, dried red pepper (called paprika) during heating in high smoke-point fats (such as lard or rendered bacon fat) provided a new taste and required a new technology. Meat cubes and strips have been cooked with onions over high heat over open fires for ages all over the world, from Chinese woks to Gaelic clay pots. But the addition of paprika at the beginning of the searing of the meat, and a second time just before the dish was finished, gave an extremely appealing fragrance, a desirable deep red color, and a taste which was pleasing to most.

The price of black pepper went up during the decline of the Ottoman Empire, and the demand increased, so paprika came at the right time to replace it.

Because paprika was not as compatible with ginger as black pepper, ginger faded from the Hungarian cuisine.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the new dish, pörkölt, became as popular as chicken, veal or pork similarly prepared with paprika. Because these had been holiday dishes served on special occasions to guests, they spread much faster than more commonplace dishes. Because visitors from Austria, Bohemia, Poland and Switzerland were treated as honored guests and had been fêted with pörkölt or paprikás, those dishes found their way quickly into the cookbooks and the restaurants of the neighboring countries.

What does all this have to do with 'goulash'? The difference between the Hungarian pörkölt, known all over the world except in Hungary as 'goulash', and goulash soup, is in the amount of liquid added to the meat, and whether potatoes and pasta are included. In the real Hungarian pörkölt or paprikás (in English 'goulash') there are no other ingredients except the beef, pork, veal or chicken, shortening (almost always from pork), paprika, onions, and once in a while, herbs, spices, condiments such as fresh green or red peppers, an occasional clove of garlic, and a small amount of tomato, caraway seed or dried marjoram.

This cubed meat dish in the 19th and early 20th century became a status symbol dish for the Hungarians. So, too, were the breaded fried chicken; breaded veal or, as it is often called, 'Wiener Schnitzel'; breaded pork chops; and the other dishes frequently seen on Hungarian-American restaurant menus.

Let's see now how the same dishes fare at the home tables of Hungarian-

American families. We asked the families what were their five most frequently cooked Hungarian dishes. Hungarian goulash and its variations were first and fourth; breaded fried meat, veal, pork, second; chicken paprikash, third; and breaded chicken, fifth.

A second question, what were the next five dishes in frequency served from the Hungarian cuisine? The answers were inconclusive, except for the sixth most frequently-served dish, stuffed cabbage. This was listed by only 25 of the 40 families. The rest of the dishes varied greatly and seven of the families could not list more than six Hungarian dishes served.

We should mention here that stuffed cabbage was on the menus of 42 of the 50 restaurants surveyed.

HOW GOULASH FAME SPREAD WORLDWIDE

Hungarian goulash became, at the end of the 19th century, a worldwide known dish. By the beginning of the 20th century, it was so strongly established that the word 'goulash', which was originally the Hungarian name for 'cowboy', became a culinary term in English, French, Spanish, German and several other languages, often not even associated with 'Hungarian'.

In the United States and Canada, goulash not only became well liked, but became so much an American staple that many American cookbooks describing American food included this dish because their authors felt that 'Hungarian goulash', 'beef goulash', 'pork goulash', and 'szekely goulash' had become an integral part of American cuisine.

Here is a list of American cookbooks containing recipes for Hungarian goulash or related dishes:

AMERICAN COOKBOOKS WITH A RECIPE FOR HUNGARIAN GOULASH OR PAPRIKASH AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AMERICAN CUISINE

YEAR	TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER
1918	The Swedish, French, American Cookbook	Ericsson Hammond	Ericsson Hammond
1922	The All-American Cookbook	Gertrude F Brebner	Judy Publishing Co
1928	American Women's Club Cookery Book	Pearl D Plogsted	G P Putnam's Sons
1940	America Cooks: Favorite Recipes from 48 States	The Browns: Cora, Rose and Bob	Garden City Books
1941	The Lily Wallace New American Cook Book	Lily H Wallace	Books Inc.
1951	American Cooking: 850 Recipes in English and German	Sadie Summers	Paramount Publishing Co.
1955	The American Everyday Cookbook	Agnes Murphy	Random House
1956	Mary Margaret McBride's Harvest of American Cooking	Mary M. McBride	G P Putnam's Sons
1957	Cooking American	Sidney W Dean	Bramhall House
1960	How America Eats	Clementine Paddleford	Charles Scribner's Sons
1967	America Cooks: the General Federation of Women's Clubs Cookbook	Ann Seranne	G P Putnam's Sons

YEAR	TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER
1968	Favorite Recipes of America	Favorite Recipes Press	Favorite Recipes Press
1968	A Salute to American Cooking	Stephen & Ethel Longstreet	Hawthorn Books Inc.
1968	Blue Ribbon Recipes	Favorite Recipes Press	Favorite Recipes Press
1969	The Farmers' Almanac Cookbook	Farmers' Almanac	The Bond Wheelwright Co.
1971	The American Family Cookbook	Culinary Arts Institute	Culinary Arts Institute
1972	The New York Times Heritage Cookbook	Jean Hewitt	G P Putnam's Sons
1975	Better Homes and Gardens Heritage Cookbook	Better Homes & Gardens	Better Homes & Gardens
1976	The American Regional Cookbook	Nancy and Arthur Hawkins	Prentice-Hall Inc.
1981	The Helen Corbitt Collection	Elizabeth Johnson	Houghton Mifflin Co.

Regrettably for the English-speaking reader, most books on Hungarian food preparation and customs are not translated into English. Some of the books have a short summary in English, French or German. As an Appendix to this paper, there is a list of the Hungarian books I consulted. If we were to compare everyday German dishes or Italian dishes with the dishes that German-American or Italian-American restaurants serve, I am convinced we would find the same differences.

During a recent trip to the Far East, I got the same impression about the food of Thailand. A few years ago we employed a skilled young chef from Thailand. We asked him on many occasions to cook Thai food for us. We visited about a dozen Thai restaurants in the United States where Thai people eat, and when we visited Thailand and had occasion to observe what people ate at home and what they ordered in their own restaurants, we could see the same pattern developing between Thai food as it is eaten in Thailand, and Thai food as it is prepared and served in the United States.

In conclusion, we can state that, as festive foods travel from other nations to the United States, they turn into everyday foods. The food, served once at a 25th wedding anniversary by a family in Hungary, would be served routinely, perhaps 25 times a year, by the same family in the United States.

BOOKS ON ETHNIC FOOD, FOLK DISHES AND PEASANT FOOD HABITS IN HUNGARY 1935-81

YEAR	TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER
1935	Tiszántuli és debreceni magyar ember táplálèka és ételkészitése	Dr Ecsedi István	Déri Muzeum, Debrecen
1939	FELSŐGÖRZSÖNY népi ételkészitése és müszavai	Bolla József	Református Kollegium Debrecen
1940	Saját gyakorlaton alapuló KUNSAG-i szakácskönyv, receptekkel	Simon Elemérné	Szerző Kiadása
1943	ŐRSÉG - Vasmegye - népi táplálkozásának ismertetése és eszközeinek leirása	Kardos László	Államtudományi Intézet Táj - és Népkutatóz Osztálya, Budapest
1955	A SZEGÉNY EMBEREK ÉLETE. Eletleirásuk foglalkozás szerint, ugyszintén a szegény asszonyoké, szómagyarázattal	Kiss Lajos	"MÜVELT NÉP" - Budapest
1957	Magyar vidékekről összegyüjtött eredeti ételreceptek	Keller László	Közgazdasági és Jogy Könyvkiadó, Budapest
1962	Népi táplálkozásról általában rajzokkal illusztrálva	Morvay Judit	Néprajzi Muzeum, Budapest
1966	Borsodmegyei Népi Táplálkozás 249-276 oldalakon iskolc	Dr Bogdál Ferenc	Herman Ottó Néprajzi Muzeum,M
1969	BP. XV. Ker. RÁKOSPALOTA népi táplálkozása 163-168 oldalakon	B. Sergő Erzsébet	XV. ker. Tanács VB. Népmüvelési Csoportja, Budapest
1970	Kilenc nagyobb magyar város tájjellegü ételleirásanak gyüjteménye - 10 személyre	Gundel Imre	Minerva, Budapest
1971	Néprajzi inyesmesterség, ételkészitès leirásával	Erdei Ferenc	Minerva, Budapest
1971	TÁPÉ, tiszamenti falu népi táplálkozásak leirása	Szigeti György	Különlenyomat. Tápé
1973	APÁTFALVA, népi táplálkozási módjának és ételkészitésének leirása	Szigeti György	Móra Ferenc Muzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
1981	Paraszti konyha	Néprajzi Muzeum	Szolnoki Nyomda, Szolnok

SPAGHETTI - BUT NOT ON TOAST![1]: ITALIAN FOOD IN LONDON

Valerie Mars

Italian eating, especially in London, is the story of a cuisine transported and transformed. Over the centuries England has transmuted a number of invading cuisines and the Italian is only one of them. Dishes retain their names, but have often changed beyond recognition. The restaurateurs and café owners who came from Italy came from a land where 'Everybody knows how to eat, even if they can't afford it,' as Dante Bertorelli says. The Bertorelli family's move to England was to escape poverty. In Italy his father and his three brothers lived on a staple diet of polenta and minestrone, with one pig slaughtered annually on their farm near Parma.

They came to a land which was urban and industrialised, where children in upper and middle class homes were largely excluded from family meals and where, as a result, the appreciation and understanding of food was minimal. (I have discussed the influence of these factors more fully elsewhere)[2]. In 1913 they opened a small café near the Daimler hire garage in Tottenham Court Road. Their customers were taxi drivers and chauffeurs, and to them they served minestrone, spaghetti and steaks. They became popular with students and extended the menu to include slow- cooked inexpensive meat dishes. The Spaghetti House chain was started similarly from a small café under the railway bridge in Golders Green, serving spaghetti and scaloppine.

These small beginnings were typical of many small Italian cafés in London. But in their very success, in their necessary adaptation to providing what the English wanted, they have become English restaurants with an Italian style. Often the menu is dominated not by Italian, but by traditional English dishes. These cafés proved popular with their English customers because the food and service were above average.

In their enterprise and family support, these cafés are similar to the osterie and trattorie of Italy, but there the similarity ends. In both countries family and the support of friends are important in supplying labour. Bertorelli began with his brothers, friends and the people they recommended. The current chef of their main restaurant is a cousin who has been with them for thirty years. In Italy this kind of support goes further and extends to the supplying of ingredients. This helps to keep costs down by evading the tax system. Black economies are based, as everyone knows, on 'friends of friends' and 30% of the Italian GNP is estimated as 'black'.[3] Such close involvement, however, ensures that the ingredients are fresh.

The long menu, which is so important to restaurants in this country, for whatever reason, is of little importance in Italy. There the osterie and trattorie do not run to long menus, but depend on what is locally available; therefore they use what is fresh. As a result their cuisine is essentially local. The cuisine transported to London is at once robbed of this essential local element and mainly rests on what travels, pasta for example.

Marcella Hazan sums up the trattorie:

> The finest restaurants in Italy are not those glittering establishments known to every traveller, but the very small, family-run trattorie of ten or twelve tables that offer home cooking only slightly revised by commercial adaptations. Here the menus are

> unnecessary, sometimes non-existent, and almost illegible. Patrons know exactly what they want, and in ordering a meal they are evoking patterns established countless times at home.[4]

She then discusses a further difference:

> There is no main course to an Italian meal. With some very rare exceptions, such as ossobuco with risotto, the concept of a single dominant course is entirely foreign to the Italian way of eating. There are, at a minimum, two principal courses, which are never, never brought to the table at the same time.[5]

As Italian cafés in London became restaurants and moved up market, their Italian menus grew longer. They mostly gave up their English dishes, but they did not follow the Italian meal pattern. The standard menu is a menu of adaptation. It is easy for the customer to choose hors d'oeuvres, soup or pasta followed by a main course, vegetables and a pudding or cheese in the English manner. Fresh fruit, except melon or grapefruit at the beginning of a meal, has often vanished altogether from the menu.

There are Italian dishes which never appear in London's Italian restaurants. In large part this is because the really fresh ingredients they need are not available and although almost anything may be obtained in London, freshness is everything to Italian gastronomy. Even air transport cannot offer ingredients to compare with immediate local supplies found at home. To eat really fresh fennel or carciofi alla giudia (fried young artichokes) in the spring in Rome is not easy to replicate in London - especially in the autumn! Yet the English, being so largely urban and industrialised, have a tendency to disregard the season and those who cater to them have often to do likewise.

The Italians, however, have had to make yet a further compromise to English taste. The English have always enjoyed a liberal use of thick sauces so that, for instance, we find scaloppine mostly served with thicker sauces than in Italy. And one would never be served a light cold Scaloppine Milanese in London, as I have enjoyed it in Milan.

Just as some dishes do not successfully transplant at all, there are others that flourish and appear on most menus. Pasta has travelled well and Spaghetti Bolognese with plenty of meat sauce is now well-established; so too is ravioli, and cannelloni with its meat filling and cream sauce.

An increase in travel, added to growing response to a competitive fashion for new dishes, has brought further change. Dante Bertorelli says that now he is sometimes asked for fettucine and polenta, which would have been unheard of before the war. Bertorelli's, who are the last of the Italian restaurants opened before World War II, now serve an Italian-based international cuisine tailored entirely to English taste.

A second example of an Italian success in London is the Spaghetti House chain, a post-war development, where the dishes are all Italian, but which are firmly set within the confines of English taste and availability. We have an impression of the Italy of popular imagination, which does not demonstrate its essentially regional cuisines. London restaurants called Amalfi or Siena are nostalgic memories of place rather than manifestations of a local cuisine. In Italian cities regionality is emphasized: Vecchia Firenze is in Florence and Vecchia Roma is in Rome. It would be a brave restaurateur who would raise the flag of Siena in Florence.

In spite of having to make so many compromises, the London Italian restaurateurs have given us good food well cooked, often at a reasonable

price with the warmth of a very personal hospitality.

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NEW AMERICAN CUISINE: JAPONAISERIE IN SARASOTA

Raymond Sokolov

Back in 1972, before Paul Bocuse was a household word or 'nouvelle' had entered our language as a culinary buzzword, I visited Bocuse's restaurant in the village of Collonges-au-Mont d'Or in almost perfect innocence of the worldwide revolution in taste that was fermenting there on the peaceful banks of the Saône. Much had been written in France, in murky prose, about what was taking place chez Bocuse and at a few other luxury establishments owned by young chefs, who had studied with Fernand Point at Vienne and then fanned out across the countryside, dedicated to a new minimalist style of cooking that shunned the stuffiness of the haute cuisine codified by Escoffier in the early years of the century.

At that time, before nouvelle cuisine had spread around the world, turning up even on menus in French restaurants as improbable as one I recently visited in a shopping center in suburban Sarasota; before the term nouvelle cuisine had surfaced as a signpost of the new glamour in fine dining, it was especially difficult to say in concrete terms what was up.

On the technical level, all the chefs in the Young Turk movement agreed that flour-thickened sauces were an abomination. But this universal preference for sauces built around heavily-reduced stocks or stocks thickened with cream or egg yolks or hollandaise did not amount to a revolution. Neither did the emphasis on fresh ingredients, al dente vegetables and raw fish and meat. But this side of early nouvelle cuisine understandably misled people into thinking that Bocuse et al. were a bunch of stylish health food enthusiasts. Bocuse encouraged this confusion when he said his innovations were aimed at the new gourmet, a theoretical fellow consumed with a passion for great food but preoccupied as well with staying trim.

This was undoubtedly a shrewd insight into the upscale client of three-star restaurants in our day, but even a cursory glance at the ingredients actually used by the Young Turks should have convinced us all that the dietary claims blandly served up in interviews by Bocuse and Alain Senderens of Archestrate in Paris were a soufflé of rationalisation.

Michel Guérard, the real genius of contemporary French gastronomy in my view, contributed to the confusion still further with an authentically low-cal menu he concocted at his Lucullan spa at Eugénie-les-Bains in the southwest. Cuisine Minceur, as he dubbed the recipes he worked out for diet-conscious guests, was an ingenious, fat-free program and attracted large dollops of publicity. Guérard published a successful book. His svelte wife told reporters: 'We will not grow fat together.' And for a time in the seventies, nouvelle cuisine was widely misunderstood to be just another name for cuisine minceur, which was really no more than one facet of one inspired chef's practice. Guérard later published a much more important book of unhealthy, foie-gras and butter-laden recipes called 'Cuisine Gourmande'.

Hidden behind this screen of contradictions and opportunistic rhetoric, the nouvelle cuisine was nevertheless something radically new that had sprung right out of the social fabric of postwar France. Young chefs had eliminated the formally-garnished banquet platters of Escoffier (which were themselves simplifications of the grandly sculptural cuisine inherited from Carême and the other classical practitioners who had laboured primarily for noble houses with crowded tables or for 19th century bourgeois

restaurant clients in love with pomp and circumstance). In this cleansing of the repertory, these chefs followed not only the relatively inconspicuous and mild reforms of Escoffier, but the more trenchantly simplifying example of their actual mentor, Fernand Point.

They were, in fact, picking up a thread first spun in the period between the wars, when the influential gastronomic writer Curnonsky had directed the attention of chefs like Point to the treasures of regional cooking. Curnonsky not only recorded these local dishes but also insisted that food should reflect its ingredients, should not disguise the taste of the things from which it was cooked. Today, this may seem like an obvious principle, but the extremely complex recipes of the 19th century haute cuisine did deliberately concoct edible fantasies remote from the raw materials of the larder.

And so, when Paul Bocuse prided himself on his 'cuisine du marché' (market cooking) and took reporters with him to the market in Lyon to hunt for the best raw materials available on a particular day, he was showing his commitment to ingredients, to their intrinsic taste and quality, and to the resources of his own region. But by the time Bocuse and the other Young Turks had achieved national and international fame, they had gone further than Point.

The best way to see this is to compare the pictures in Point's posthumous Ma Gastronomie (1969) with the pictures in Guérard's Cuisine Gourmande (1978) or the brothers Troisgros in Cuisiniers à Roanne (1977). Point's food is simple enough, compared to the plates of more classic food in the Larousse Gastronomique, with their garnishes of turned vegetables and stuffed artichoke bottoms, but with Point we are still in the world of the banquet, the world of the platter on which a suckling pig or a whole tart is presented to a tableful of people or a large family assembled for a dramatic occasion.

The younger chefs have selected photographs of individual plates, with the food on them arranged meticulously to make a visual effect on its own. In their book, Jean and Pierre Troisgros credit their father as the source of the 'custom of both presentation and service on each guest's individual plate - very large plates, which we were the first to use'.

By now, we have all encountered the nouvelle cuisine paté and its studied arrangements of sliced vegetables, in circular patterns or other geometries. And while it would be wrong to dispute that this new mode of decoration arose in France, quite naturally, from trends in force over decades, it is also the case that the full efflorescence of nouvelle cuisine was to an important extent an exotic bloom, fertilized by new ideas, esthetic and culinary, that traveled to France from abroad, in particular from Japan, and which found in traditionally xenophobic France, receptive soil.

In the postwar global village, exotic ingredients - the avocado, the mango, and before all others the kiwifruit - arrived in France by jet. Meanwhile, French people traveled outside the mother country in unprecedented numbers. Bocuse traveled so often to Japan that diners complained the master was abandoning his own stove. Senderens studied Japanese cuisine.

The flow of ideas, from Japan to France, brought a highly developed food esthetic based on delicate visual effects, achieved most often on individual plates, to young French chefs already predisposed to paint with food on the circular field of the individual's plate. The nouvelle cuisine rapidly evolved into a feast for the eyes, à la Japonaise. And it also incorporated some of the culinary features of Japanese food, notably a

predilection for raw ingredients, which fulfilled Curnonsky's dictum to perfection. A slice of raw scallop tasted, by definition, of nothing but the 'raw' material itself.

The success of this new mode of cooking is a fact of contemporary life. Nouvelle cuisine triumphed in France and then radiated outward around Europe, to the United States and back to Japan. In its full, cosmopolitan form, nouvelle cuisine has now inspired Japanese-French restaurants in New York. And it is to this global yet regional school of cookery that we in America now owe the so-called new American cuisine, which combines French principles of food preparation, Japanese plate decoration and regional, folkloric American ingredients.

On wings of chic, the new gospel has soared over oceans and continents. Japanese chefs, some with French training, reign supreme in Manhattan. Homegrown cooks have also learned the lessons of the day and present sophisticated diners from coast to coast with morels foraged in Michigan woods or hitherto neglected sea urchin ovaries from Pacific waters. Aided by food processors, modish restaurants can now offer julienned vegetables of every hue with each floridly-designed entrée. And following the lead of their French mentors, they are open to ideas from cooking traditions around the world, mixing all the great ethnic and national cuisines in a mishmash of eclecticism which is every bit as intricate in its way as were the now-abandoned platters of the yesteryear.

THE MIGRATION OF INGREDIENTS & COOKERY METHODS/THE EVOLUTION OR INVENTION OF DISHES

Suzy Benghiat

This paper does not pretend to be a scholarly contribution to the seminar. It is intended to raise questions for discussion; questions prompted by over thirty years of cooking experience, of observation and study of the different and changing attitudes to the subject of food in Britain, but looked at from a wider perspective.

It is the preliminary title given for this seminar, 'The migration of ingredients and cookery methods/the evolution or invention of new dishes' (PPC 11), that spurred me to initiate this discussion. Accepting that it was only a tentative way of defining the theme to be developed, it seemed, nonetheless, to be extremely restrictive if related to the concept of invention, of creation. The proposition ignores the creators, the milieu they live in, their changing circumstances and the influences they are subjected to. These include migration; travel; industrialisation; new cooking aids, means of preservation, medical discoveries; commercialisation, standardisation, development of the mass media; last but not least, fashions, fads and trends. Interestingly, shortages, when combined with imagination stimulated by nostalgia, can be a factor just as important in the process of invention as abundance.

It is the memory of my mother, a fantastic cook, whose skill and imagination provided us, when we first came to England, with the kind of food we were used to - in a rudimentary kitchen and without all the necessary ingredients - that made me question the assumption that a people's cuisine depends entirely on the ingredients available. When immigrants first settle in a new country, like us, they do not adopt their hosts' eating habits overnight; they go on cooking Chinese, Greek, Indian, Italian etc. with what is available. There is enough produce common to most cultures to be able to do that: potatoes, tomatoes, fats, rice, meat, chicken, fish, etc. It is at a later stage that the yearning for food 'like at home' induces entrepreneurs to open shops and restaurants. London, in the last thirty years, has been an ideal point for observing this phenomenon.

When I first came to settle here in 1948, we had suddenly been transplanted from the shortage-free (at least for some), cosmopolitan Egypt to the strictly rationed, insular post-war Britain. In such a short time the 'cosmopolitanisation' of Britain has been dramatic and more evidently so in the matter of food. This is unquestionable, even if at first it was limited to certain urban areas and to the 'trendsetters'. This transformation, through political pressure, has now become recognised widely enough to be reflected in the mass media.

Although Britain was an ideal ground for absorbing foreign influences, this evolution can of course be noted in a great number of other countries. But in Britain, when, in reaction to long years of war and post-war rationing, people started yearning for real food they first looked 'abroad' for a revival in home cooking. This was due to several factors: the stimulation created by Elizabeth David, foreign travel, and most of all, the settling of several ethnic minorities with their distinctive food cultures.

The more influences an individual is subjected to, the richer the cross fertilisation of ideas, the more inventive the result. If you buy a

steamer for your Chinese cooking, you soon discover that it is an ideal means for reheating your rice or 'plats mijotés' whether French, Italian, Indian or Moroccan. Having become familiar with Fila Pastry for your Baklava, you start using it for your Chinese Spring Roll or your Feuilleté de Fruits de Mer. You can decide, for a change, to use Indian spice mixtures for your stir-fry vegetables.

Going through a vegetarian phase? The cuisines of many lands are at your disposal, but also permutations of ingredients and cooking methods. Need a high fibre diet? The dishes of beans, pastas, grains of five continents are there within your grasp.

Recipe books multiplied, getting more and more exotic; setting new trends year after year. This profusion of choice and information is only worthwhile if handled by people who can cook. A strange situation arose in Britain (also in other Anglo-Saxon countries) in that a whole generation of people learnt to cook from books. Most of them seem to think that this is sufficient as long as they have a good recipe. In that, they are encouraged by publishers who suggest (even if only implicitly) that if a recipe is followed exactly anyone can make a success of it. Whatever the dish? However skillful the cook is? With a guarantee that all the elements involved in the cooking of the dish are perfectly standard? This not only produces the disasters that we have all experienced but it thwarts all imagination, all invention. It produces what I call the dinner-party-cooks-by-numbers.

Fortunately a great number of people weaned on Elizabeth David (whose recipes, incidentally, were not presented in the manner I described above) and some of the best writers soon realised that you cannot learn a skill by books alone. They went on to learn by taking up apprenticeships; going to demonstrations given by famous chefs; by watching other cooks and exchanging information with them; by travelling and most of all by tasting, tasting, tasting. These are the cooks who can make the most of the incredible variety of foods, kitchen aids, recipes from all over the world which are available to us. Recently these have been 'coming-out' in mass publications, on television. They openly admit that they use cookery books as they should be used: for inspiration, for new ideas, for tips. They do not follow a recipe as if it were the Ten Commandments any more.

Interestingly enough, the reverse phenomenon seems to be happening in France: a growing generation of non-cooks and tastes debased by standardisation of the food available (who would have thought a few years ago that Macdonalds and the worst kinds of take-away food would be thriving in Paris?) This in turn provokes a desire to learn how to cook and the reliance on cookery books. The discovery by the great chefs of other cuisines from which they have drawn their inspiration to rejuvenate their own great tradition; foreign travel; the settlement of large ethnic minorities have all resulted in a very large number of 'exotic' cookery books being published in the last few years. I have noticed that a large proportion are translated from the English.

I wish to conclude as I started; by saying that I hope that some of the ideas I have touched upon will stimulate discussion and hopefully further research.

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